

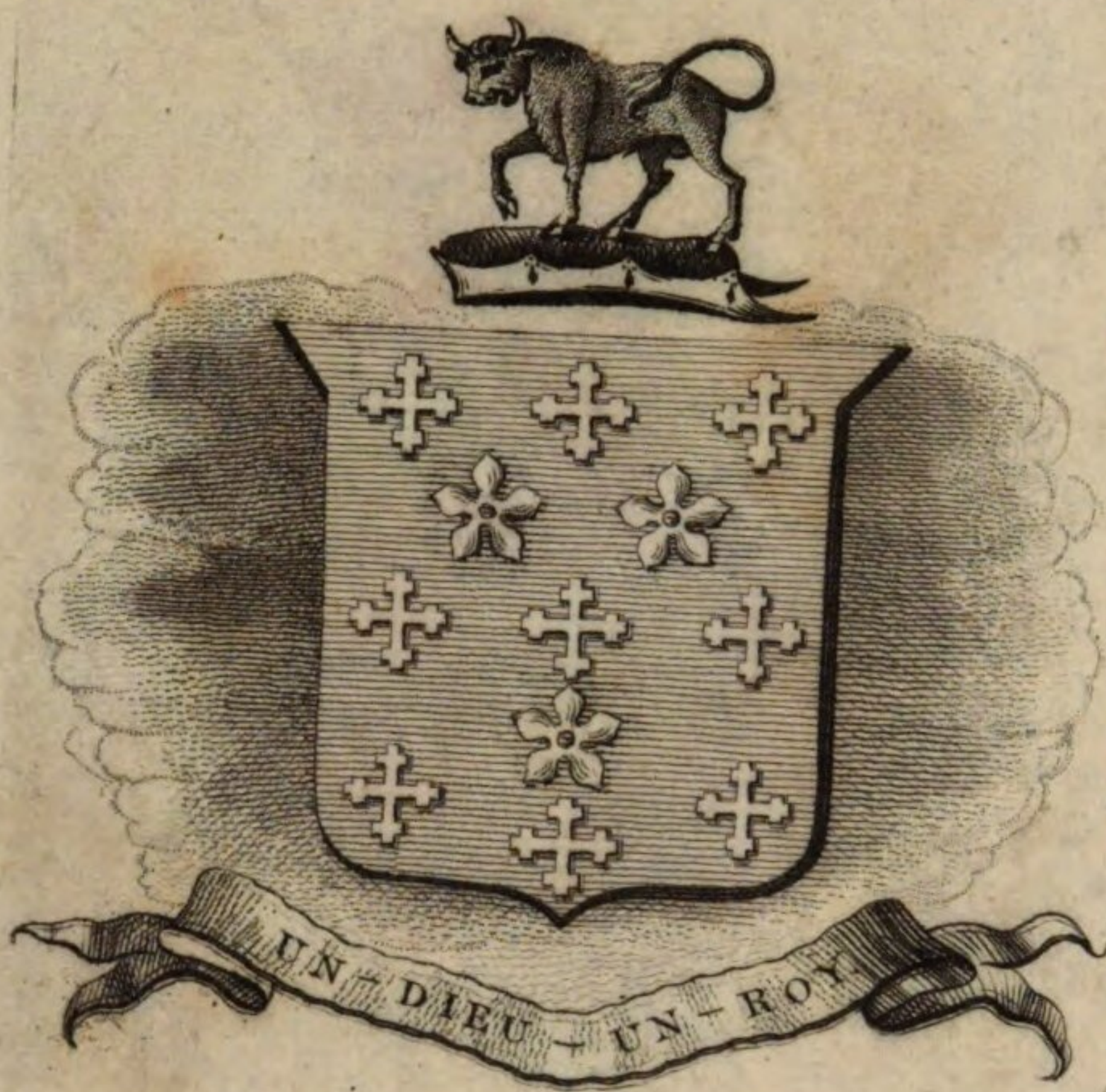
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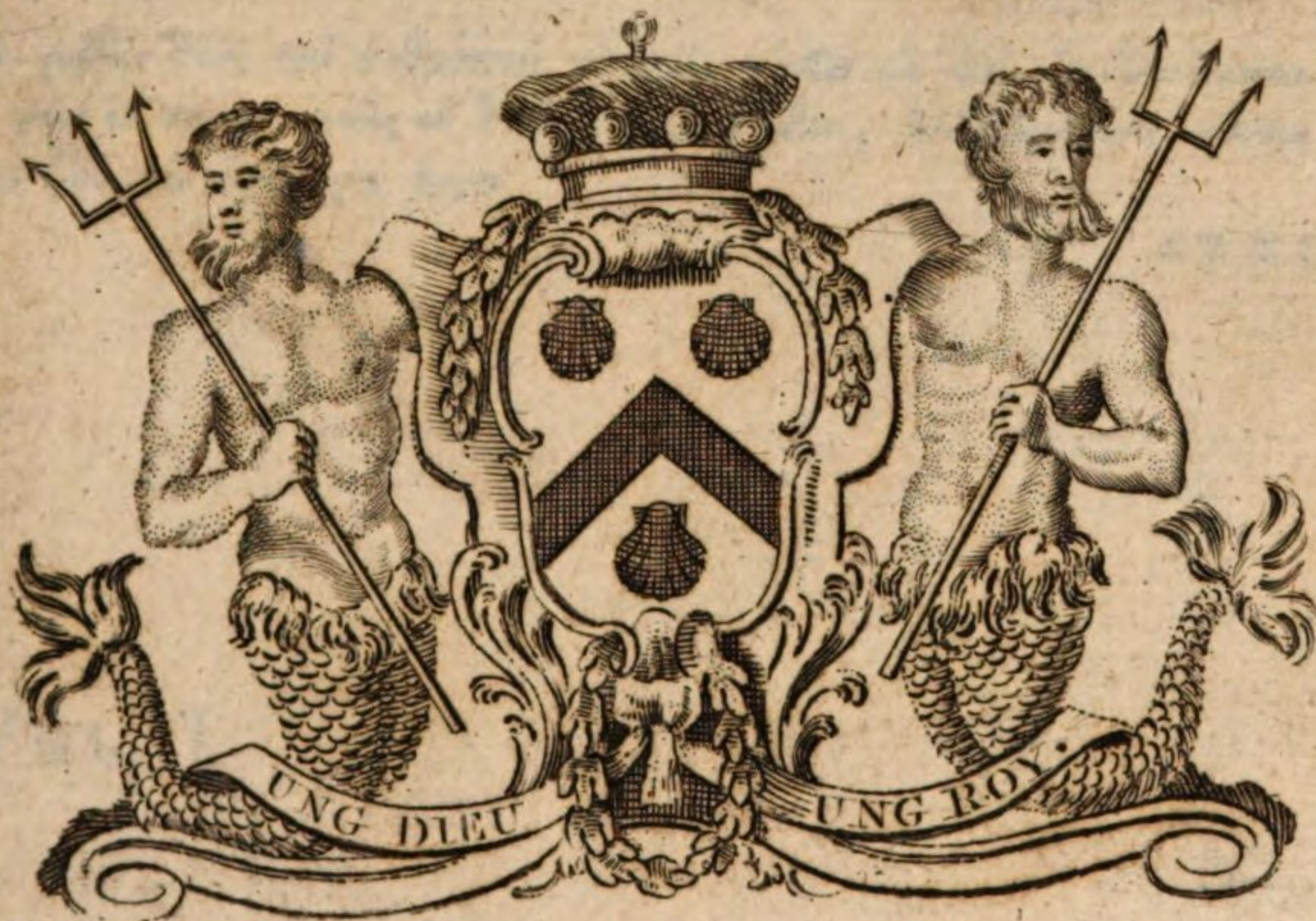
GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON;

Formerly printed separately, and now first collected
together:

With some other PIECES, never before printed.

Published by GEORGE EDWARD AYSCOUGH, Esq.

VOL. I.



DUBLIN:

Printed by G. FAULKNER, in Parliament-street, }
M.DCC.LXXIV.

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T H E

W O R K S

O F

GEORGE LORD LYTTLETON;

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M.DCC.LXXXIV.

ARTHUR O'MALLEY

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
L I F E
O F
C I C E R O.

Μὲλ' αὖ μείλοι Διὸς; καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένε'· τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπιβυγνόμενον αἰδέσθαι·
ὃ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ Διοὶ ἀποκρύπτουσι, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῇ πᾶσιν αἰάγῃ
αἰεὶ ζῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ.

VOL. I.

B

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LIFE

OF

CHARLES

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY
IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST
BY JOHN HUGHES

LONDON

Vol. I

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
ARTHUR ONSLOW,

SPEAKER of the HOUSE of COMMONS.

S I R,

THE honour I do myself of addressing these remarks to you, is a proof how confident I am in the partiality of your friendship; if they have any other claim to your regard, it is only from a spirit of liberty, which, where-ever it appears, is always sure of your favour and protection. The subject of them, which is the Life of Cicero, must be doubly interesting to you, as he was the most excellent Orator of all antiquity, and bore the most eminent character in the Roman Senate, while it remained free, and was worthy of that name.

I am, with the most perfect respect, and highest sense of your favours to me,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

and most obedient

humble Servant.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ARTHUR ONSLOW,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR,

THE honour I do myself of addressing
these remarks to you is a proof how
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SIR,

Your most obliged,

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humble servant

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O B S E R V A T I O N S
O N T H E
L I F E O F C I C E R O.

AMONG all the celebrated characters in the Roman History, there are none more worthy our attention, than those great men who were at the head of the Republick when she was arrived at her highest degree of power and glory, and by a natural consequence of excessive prosperity was fallen into those vices and corruptions, which soon after produced a change of government, and brought her into an infamous slavery. This revolution was either hastened or delayed according as they who had the management of affairs were more or less infected with the general depravity: some there were who preserved themselves quite untainted; who gallantly stood in the breach, and struggled hard for liberty. Such were Marcus Cato, Quintus Hortensius, Quintus Catulus, and Marcus Brutus; whose virtues were the more valuable to their country, because they were exerted at a juncture when she found herself most in need of their assistance: with these Cicero has generally been placed, and if we may take his own word, Rome had not a more unspotted patriot to boast of than himself: but I doubt, when we look strictly into his conduct, we shall often find it very different from theirs who really deserve that name; and it will appear even from the testimony of his own letters, in which he spoke more
naturally

naturally and with less vanity than he does in his orations, that his publick character was far from being perfect; that he acted upon many occasions more like an ambitious orator than a philosophical republican; that his virtues were blended with many weakneses and pernicious failings; and that, notwithstanding his exalted notions of integrity, he sometimes yielded to the corruption of the age, and sacrificed the welfare of his country to his private interests and passions. What makes him the less excusable is, that none ever understood the rules of virtue or saw the beauty of it more than he: his writings are the noblest lessons of publick honesty, disinterestedness, and the love of liberty, that are to be found in all antiquity: and it is the excellent and almost divine spirit which appears in those books, that has made the majority of readers conclude the author of them to have been in his own practice, what he takes so much pains to recommend, and inculcates with such force of eloquence. And, to do him right, in many parts of his administration he was the patriot he describes: the Commonwealth had great obligations to him; no less than its preservation at one crisis: but there wanted a steadiness and uniformity in his conduct, which alone could entitle him to the reputation he was so desirous of obtaining, and that has been given him rather by the partiality of learned men, than from the suffrage of historical justice.

I shall endeavour in the following observations to set his actions in their proper light, and, without aggravating or softening any thing, consider them as they were directed to the advantage or prejudice of his country; in doing which, I shall dwell only upon such circumstances as are important to his character, passing by a great number of other facts which have no relation to my design.

The

The first cause of moment that he undertook was the defence of Roscius Amerinus, in which he gained great honour by his opposition to Sylla, who was the prosecutor, and whose power had frightened every body else from appearing in his behalf: such a spirit in a young man at his first entrance into publick business was admired by all the world, and seemed to promise something very extraordinary: but though the danger of offending the tyrant could not deter him from pleading for Roscius, yet he thought it not prudent to expose himself to his resentment afterwards; but left Rome, and retired into Greece, under pretence of travelling for his health. He there applied himself to the study of eloquence; and having the advantage of the best masters in the world, he made such improvements in it, that when he came to the bar upon his return to Rome, he soon eclipsed all his competitors, even Hortensius himself, who could not see without uneasiness the superiority he was gaining over him, though they afterwards became very good friends; the conformity of their sentiments upon publick business, and the interests of the Commonwealth, having united them notwithstanding their emulation. This great ability in speaking could not fail to raise him very high in a government where every thing was disposed of by the favour of the people; and for the first proof of their good-will towards him, he was sent to Sicily in the office of quæstor, where he behaved himself with so much justice, integrity, and moderation, that his reputation as a magistrate was not inferior to that which he had obtained before as an orator. To ingratiate himself still further with the Sicilians, he engaged in the prosecution of Verres, who, during his prætorship in their island, had drawn upon himself an universal hatred by his rapaciousness, insolence, and other crimes, which were too often committed with impunity by the Roman governors:

nours: and Verres himself, infamous as he was, did not want the countenance and protection of some of the most considerable men in Rome, who endeavoured to shelter him from justice for a reason obvious enough, because they were unwilling any enquiry should be made into offences of that publick nature, in the guilt of which so many of their friends, and perhaps they themselves, were too much involved. But the eloquence and credit of Cicero condemned Verres in spite of their opposition; and the Sicilians were so pleased with the service he had done them upon that occasion, that they put themselves wholly under his protection, and continued their esteem and affection to the end of his life.

Soon after his success in this affair, which recommended him extremely to the Roman people, who were always glad to see magistrates prosecuted for male-administration, he was made edile; and having gone through that office with a deserved applause, he was unanimously chosen prætor. As that dignity was the second in the Commonwealth, the possession of it inspired him with higher thoughts and more aspiring hopes than he had entertained before: he then began to take such measures as he judged most likely to contribute to his advancement: and as Pompey was more capable than any body of assisting him in that design, he sought all means of gaining him to his interests; and with that view pronounced his famous oration *pro Lege Manilia*, in which he entirely forsook his former character of a lover of his country, and became a principal instrument of illegal and arbitrary power. As the part that Cicero acted in this affair deserves a very particular consideration, I shall set it in as full a light as possible; the more, because Plutarch takes no notice of it, which it is not very easy to account for, considering his usual impartiality.

The

The extravagant affection of the people, in committing to Pompey the command of the war against the pirates, had vested him with so exorbitant a power, that it utterly destroyed the equality essential to a Commonwealth. His commission gave him an absolute authority over the whole length of the Mediterranean as far as Hercules's pillars, and along all the coasts of it to the distance of fifty miles from the sea: he was impowered to take what money he thought fit out of the publick treasury without accounting for it, and to raise as many soldiers and mariners as he judged convenient. Besides this, he had a liberty of chusing out of the body of the senate, fifteen persons to serve him as lieutenants, to whom he assigned their provinces at his own discretion. In vain did the consuls, with most of the senators, oppose this prodigious authority, so contrary to the maxims of their government: their resistance served only to inflame the people, and occasioned them to add to their decree, that Pompey should have power to fit out five hundred sail of ships, to raise an army of an hundred and twenty six thousand men, and that he should have twenty four senators and two quæstors to obey his orders.

With this force he soon reduced the pirates; and his victory was hardly known at Rome, when Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, to gratify his insatiable ambition, proposed the giving him the government of Lucullus, and the command of that general's army then carrying on the war with Mithridates, and that he should still retain the whole extent of that authority which had been granted him by the former decree, though the reasons for which it had been given were entirely ceased. This was nothing less than delivering to him all the forces both by sea and land, and making him absolute master of the Roman empire: what rendered the favourers of this decree more inexcusable was, that they had not the least pretence of publick necessity to justify the proposing

proposing it, as they seemed to have had in the commission they gave him against the pirates, who were at that time very formidable enemies : but Lucullus, who commanded in Asia, had overcome Mithridates in several battles, and was as capable of finishing the war as he whom they appointed to be his successor. Such an excessive power entrusted to one man, where there was so little occasion for it, appeared to the senate an utter subversion of the constitution ; but such was their fear of Pompey, whose greatness was become no less terrible than that of Sylla, that except Quintus Catulus and Hortensius none durst contradict the passing of it. These two great men, one of which was beyond dispute the second orator in Rome, spoke with much warmth and force against the decree, endeavouring to persuade the people of the unreasonableness and danger of it ; and perhaps they would have made some impression, if Pompey's faction, apprehending the effect their orations might have produced, had not set up an abler speaker than either of them to harangue on their side of the question. Cicero mounted the *rostrum*, and with an eloquence worthy of a better cause, most artfully reflected on Lucullus, whose reputation, as well as his authority, was to be made a sacrifice to the envy of Pompey ; then he proceeded to descant upon Pompey's character, which he set off with all the ornaments of rhetorick, attributing to him the whole success not only of the African, Spanish, and Piratick wars, but even of that against the slaves, the honour of which was solely due to Crassus. Thus by cruelly injuring two of the greatest generals that were then in the Commonwealth ; by a most servile flattery of the man who was manifestly overturning all its liberties : he brought the people to consent to the Manilian Law, which, had a regard to the interest of his country been his constant principle, he ought to have opposed as violently as he did afterwards

afterwards the Agrarian, or any other attempt against the safety and freedom of the state. It is certain that these extraordinary honours conferred on Pompey, as they broke the balance of the Republick, so they irritated the ambition of Cæsar, and afterwards furnished him with a pretence of demanding as great a power for himself, and seizing it by force when it was refused.

I come now to speak of his consulship, which really deserves all the praises that not only the Greek and Roman historians have bestowed upon it, but even those which he himself is so lavish of whenever he has an opportunity to mention it. His opposition to the law proposed by Rullus, which was presented to the people in a form they were always easy to be caught with, was a matter of the most delicate nature; and nothing less than his consummate address in the managing those assemblies, could possibly have hindered its being carried by the artful contrivers of it: but by shewing the people that under the notion of a popular decree they were really setting up a private tyranny, from which no advantage could arise to the poor, for whose sake alone this law was pretended to be formed, but the revenues of the publick would be dissipated and its liberty destroyed; he stopped the execution of their designs, and saved the Commonwealth from the yoke which was just ready to be imposed upon it. I believe no affair was ever managed with greater prudence, nor ever so much skill exerted in any oration as in those he made upon this occasion, which are certainly master-pieces in their kind, though others of a more pompous stile are generally more admired. His conduct in Catiline's conspiracy is too well known to be repeated here: the vigilance, firmness, and activity, with which he discovered and prevented that design, can never be too much extolled; nor could any thing have depreciated the services he then did his country, but

but his being so sensible of them himself. As to the charge brought against him by his enemies of having violated the Porcian law, by putting to death the chief of the conspirators without allowing them a trial, he was abundantly justified in so doing by the urgent necessity of affairs, and by the order of the senate, *That he should take care the Republick might receive no detriment.* This commission vested him with something like a dictatorial power, and the extream danger of the Commonwealth required it; for the least delay would have been fatal. But as the people were always jealous of any stretch of authority in the senate, they were more easily wrought upon to take umbrage at this extraordinary act, which Cicero himself calls in one of his letters *Invidiosa Potentia.*—— After the expiration of his consulship all mens eyes were turned upon him, as one who they hoped would continue to be the chief support of those that were affectionate to the Commonwealth. What engagements he then entered into, what friendships he cultivated, what policy he observed, demands a very strict examination, though this period of his life, from the death of Catiline to his banishment by Clodius, has been passed lightly over by historians; and therefore many parts of it are only to be collected from his private letters, in which he gives a very particular account of every step he took, and of the many changes both in his sentiments and behaviour that happened during that remarkable interval. We shall find him sometimes devoted to Pompey, sometimes at variance with him; sometimes imploring his protection, sometimes despising his power; now resolved to stand or fall with the Commonwealth, now making his terms with its tyrants; almost always reasoning differently, and yet frequently reasoning better than he could prevail upon himself to act. When he was to make an oration to the people upon quitting the consulship, the secret enemies of his administration declared themselves,

selves, and Cæsar who was one of the prætors, together with Metullus and Bestia, two tribunes, would not suffer him to give an account of his conduct as was always usual, but commanded him to abjure his office, and leave the rostrum. This they grounded upon his having put to death some Roman citizens without a legal trial; and they thought it would be a great mortification to Cicero's vanity, to deprive him of so fair an opportunity of making his own panegyrick: but the readiness of his wit found a way to disappoint their malice; for he took the oath in a new-invented form, and instead of swearing that he had acted nothing contrary to the interests of the republick, he swore that he had saved the city and the whole state from ruin. As extraordinary as this oath was, all the people took it after him in the same words, and the affront that his enemies would have done him fell entirely upon themselves. The next day he complained of them in the senate, and prevailed upon that order to pass a decree, *That no prosecution should be brought against him for what he had executed by virtue of the power which they had given him.* This drove the cabal against him to propose a law for the calling home Pompey with the army under his command, to secure the liberties of the people against the pretended tyranny of Cicero: but by the invincible opposition of Cato this project failed. However, it made such an impression upon the mind of Cicero, that he resolved to neglect no methods of binding Pompey more strongly to his interest, who had already very great obligations to him, as has been shewn before. Accordingly when that general was preparing to return to Rome, he writ to him; and having complained of his want of friendship, in not congratulating him upon what he had done during his absence for the service of the state; he compares Pompey to the younger Scipio, and himself to Lelius, desiring that their union might be as strict as
was

was the famous one between those two great men. This produced an appearance of amity towards him, but he himself suspected it not to be sincere, as is evident from his 13th epistle to Atticus, in which he says of Pompey, That indeed he made great professions of esteem and consideration for him, and affected openly to support and praise him; but it was easy enough to see he envied him, though he endeavoured to conceal it. Cicero's vanity makes him call that envy, which was really ill-will, for Pompey could not be a friend to any body that had declared himself in the interests of the Republick. The character that Cicero gives of him in the same letter, is very different from that of Scipio, to whom he had compared him a little before: his words are, speaking of his conduct, *Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.* And again in the 20th of the same book, *Is vir nihil habet amplum, nihil excelsum, nihil non summissum & popolare.* Would one believe, that the hero of the fine oration *pro lege Manilia*, and the Pompey thus described, was the same man? Had he nothing great? nothing elevated? nothing but what was mean and vulgar? was there neither dignity, nor spirit, nor freedom, nor candour, nor honesty, nor good-nature in his whole behaviour? But to this person, such as he is here represented, Cicero earnestly laboured to recommend himself: and he had soon after more need than ever of his protection in the famous quarrel with Clodius, which he entered into more to satisfy the ill humour of his wife Terentia, who was jealous of an intrigue between him and Clodia, than out of any regard to the ceremonies of the *Bona Dea*. Had he known the parts and capacity of Clodius as well as he did afterwards when he came to feel them, in all probability he would not have exposed himself to the enmity of a man so able to do him mischief, and with whom he had always lived before

before in a degree of friendship. But besides that he thought his ruin infallible from the evidence he brought against him, the perpetual riot and debauchery in which he passed his time, made him apprehend no great consequences from his resentment: but he was soon convinced, that a turn to pleasure does not always render those that follow it unfit for business, especially when they are excited to action by any violent passion. Clodius found means to corrupt his judges, and was no sooner acquitted but he turned all his thoughts to the pursuit of his revenge upon Cicero, and kept him in continual alarms till he got an opportunity of compassing it, which obliged him to court Pompey more and more, though such a conduct was extreamly inconsistent with his principles of liberty. As much distrust as he had expressed of that great man's friendship in the letter to Atticus I mentioned first, he now deceived himself into an entire dependance on it, and most of his letters were filled with boasts of his good policy in securing such a powerful protector against Clodius and all his faction. How little foundation he had for so much confidence, will appear by the sequel of that affair. In the mean time there was a business brought before the senate, which, as it very much affected one of the main points of Cicero's policy, it will be necessary to give some account of. It had always been his favourite system, through the whole course of his administration, to strengthen the power of the senate, by a close union with the equestrian order, they making a very considerable body, and carrying a great weight along with them to which ever side they inclined. He succeeded so well in this design, that during the conspiracy of Catiline they were a constant guard to the senate, and ready upon all occasions to support the resolutions of that house. This was certainly a very important service to the Commonwealth, and it was no small honour to Cicero to have

have been the author of it : but most of this order being employed in collecting the taxes of the Republick, * or in farming of its revenues, there were grievous complaints made against them from all parts of the empire for the frequent abuses of their office, in all which Cicero was forced to defend them contrary to truth and equity, for fear of alienating them from the senate. But soon after the affair of Clodius, Cato who did not understand those managements, accused the judges who absolved him of corruption, many of which were Roman knights, and obtained a decree against them. This was resented as an affront upon the whole body, and Cicero to pacify them again, was obliged to speak in the senate against the decree. But a much worse matter † that followed shortly after, involved him in a new trouble upon their account. Many of them who had farmed the Asian revenues of the censor, whose office it was to sett them, had taken them at too high a price, out of emulation to go beyond the other bidders ; and afterwards repenting of their bargain, made a most impudent request to the senate, that they might be discharged of so much of their rents as they thought would burthen them too much. It was impossible for Cato to be patient under such a demand : he opposed it with all his might, and on the other side Cicero, who knew of what consequence it was not to disoblige the order, supported them no less vigorously : the dispute between them lasted a good while, but at length Cato, who had justice and reason entirely on his side, got the better, and the petition was rejected. Experience soon shewed how much more useful it would have been for the Commonwealth to have followed Cicero's advice. The knights, exasperated at the severity of the senate, abandoned their party,

* L. II. Ep. i.

† Ibid.

party, and gave themselves up to Cæsar, who knew very well how to turn this division to his own advantage. It was the fault of Cato not to see that public affairs are incapable of perfection, and that it is impossible to govern a state without submitting lesser interests to greater: hence it was that with admirable intentions for the service of his country, he sometimes did a great deal of mischief, for want of distinguishing between what was good in speculation, and what in practice. This was seldom the case with Cicero: when he departed from the interests of the Republick, it was for the most part with his eyes open, and without the excuse of error. During these wrangles between him and Cato, the triumvirate was secretly forming, and Cæsar, under the specious pretence of reconciling Pompey and Crassus, was working himself into a share of power with them, which he knew better than they did how to support. Cicero perceived it, and takes notice to Atticus* of his growing greatness. But as dangerous as this union was to the Commonwealth, he did not think fit to oppose it, or break with Pompey upon that account; though he makes the strongest declarations of his resolution not to abandon the good cause, but ever to maintain it at all events. It seems he flattered himself with an unaccountable chimæra of being able to govern them both, as he tells Atticus in the first epistle of the second book. And again, in the third of the same book, he informs his friend, that Cæsar had assured him he would do nothing but by his advice: possibly Cæsar, being sensible of his foible, might have soothed his vanity in making him believe so; but it is much more likely, that his conduct was owing to other motives which are mentioned in that letter, viz. *Reditus in gratiam cum inimicis, pax cum*

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* L. II. Ep. i.

multitudine, senectutis otium. Thus he manifestly gave up the care of the Commonwealth to a precarious safety and shameful ease; but he could not help reproaching himself for it at the end of the letter, and acknowledging that this was acting very differently from the virtuous maxims of his consulship, and very much beneath his reputation.

The fifth letter of the second book is so extraordinary a confession of his weakness, not to give it a worse name, that I am surprized how it came to drop from him even to so intimate a friend as Atticus. He very ingenuously tells him, That if they whom he afterwards calls Tyrants, would have bribed him with the place of augur, they had it in their power to have gained him. *Quo quidem uno (Auguratu scil.) ego ab istis capi possum; vide levitatem meam.* But, being disappointed in the object of his ambition, he resolves, out of the abundance of his virtue, to retire from business, and philosophize: accordingly he went into the country; and in the letters he wrote from thence, treats both Clodius and Pompey with great contempt, and even threatens the last with a publick recantation of all the fine things he had said of him. While he was absent, Pompey married Cæsar's daughter; upon which, Cicero, whose penetration saw all the consequences of the fatal alliance, returned to Rome, and, joining with Curio and other opposers of Cæsar in the senate, endeavoured to obstruct his designs, though without offending Pompey, with whom he still kept up a shew of friendship. But the storm which had hung over him so long now broke upon his head: Cæsar, to be revenged, assisted Clodius, and got him to be chosen tribune of the people. No sooner was he entered upon this office, but he openly menaced Cicero with a prosecution for the death of the conspirators. This threw him into one of his usual terrors; but Pompey flattered him with repeated assurances that he would not suffer Clodius to proceed:

ceed : at first he gave credit to these promises; but finding that the design against him still went on, he began to suspect that he was betrayed. His affairs were in this disagreeable posture, when Cæsar, who desired only to draw him off from giving him trouble at Rome, offered to carry him his lieutenant into Gaul, for which province he was ready to set out. Plutarch says he solicited it himself, but the letters to Atticus expressly affirm that the proposal came from Cæsar. Be it how it will, there could nothing more advantageous have happened to Cicero at that time. The employment was very honourable, and would have effectually secured him from the malice and power of his enemies: being sensible of this himself, he was inclined to accept of it, and would have gone with Cæsar, if Clodius, perceiving that he was in danger of losing his revenge, had not very artfully changed his conduct, and, by affecting to seem moderate and void of rancour, persuaded people that he had laid aside his resentment, and was even disposed to a reconciliation if sought for. Cicero was weak enough to be duped by this behaviour, and refused the lieutenancy of Cæsar, who thereupon insisted with Pompey upon giving him up to the fury of Clodius, and declared in an assembly of the people, that he thought Cicero had acted illegally in putting to death the accomplices of Catiline. Clodius pushed the affair so vigorously, that Cicero soon found he had undone himself in not making use of Cæsar's offer. He fell into a most unmanly dejection, changing his robe, and walking about the street in a sordid habit, to move the compassion of the people, while Clodius insulted and reviled him for his want of spirit. The senate indeed, and the whole equestrian order, gave him all the marks he could desire of affection and concern; but the faction against him was the stronger: Crassus was his enemy upon many accounts, Catulus was dead, Lucullus retired from business: Pompey was his only resource, and he still counted upon

some return for the many services he had done him in the course of his administration. But it is the just punishment of those who make themselves the tools of other men's ambition, *That whenever the interests of those they serve may happen to demand it, they are sure to be sacrificed: for no very ambitious man was ever grateful any further than it was useful to him to be so.* This Cicero most cruelly experienced, when, going to Pompey to implore his protection, he, to avoid his importunities or reproaches, refused to see him. Upon this he utterly lost all hopes, and, abandoning himself to the most abject complaints, consulted with his friends what he should do to avoid the present danger. Most of them advised him to go voluntarily into banishment, as the only means to prevent a Civil War; which council he resolved to follow, as most conformable to his own genius and circumstances.

In how spiritless and effeminate a manner he behaved during his exile, is sufficiently known to all the world: the stain that is left upon his character was too great to be varnished over by all the glory of his triumphant return, which he chiefly owed to the imprudence of Clodius in quarrelling with Pompey, though the vigorous proceeding of his friend Milo and the firmness of the senate were of no small service to him. As soon as he was re-established in his former dignities, he linked himself more closely than ever in friendship with Pompey, making his court to Cæsar at the same time, whom he found it was not safe for him to offend. This complaisance had the effect that he proposed from it; he obtained the place of augur which he desired so passionately, and not long after the government of Cilicia. His behaviour in the administration of this province would have done him a great deal of honour, if he could have been content with the reputation he had acquired of a wise and upright magistrate, without minding at the glory of a soldier, to which he was far

far from having so good a title. Cato's answer to the letter, in which he solicits him to get a triumph decreed him by the senate, is a very handsome reproof of his vanity, and a more gentle one than one would have expected from the roughness of that great man's character. But notwithstanding all the pains he took to soften his denial, Cicero was grievously offended at it; which ill disposition of his, the enemies of Cato, * particularly Cæsar, omitted no endeavours to confirm. Upon his return to Rome he found the Civil War just ready to break out between him and Pompey: this extreamly embarrassed him, for he was very desirous to be upon good terms with both, and both equally courted him to their party. At first he attempted to bring them to some agreement, but he soon found that design impracticable; for ambition, which had formerly made them friends, now made them enemies: then he laboured to dissuade Pompey in particular from hazarding a war, by representing to him the inequality of their forces, and that it was now too late to quarrel with the man whom he himself had made so strong: these arguments, just and reasonable as they were, had no effect upon Pompey, who was infatuated with a vain conceit of his own power, and a false confidence which betrayed him to his ruin. All his efforts towards preventing a rupture meeting with no success, Cicero found himself in the greatest perplexities for which of the two factions he should declare. On one side he saw a general without authority, troops without obedience, neglect of all necessary preparation, and a continual series of mistakes; on the other an active leader, a well-disciplined army, great courage, and admirable conduct: whichever got the better, the Commonwealth

* L. VII. Ep. i, ii.

wealth was almost equally sure of being enslaved. That this was the case, very plainly appears from many passages in his Epistles to Atticus, where he says, That let the success of the Civil War be what it would, the consequence of it would certainly be a tyrant. I shall only cite one, which is in the 7th letter of the 7th book, *Depugna, inquis, potius quam servias : ut quid ? si victus eris, proscribare ; si viceris, tamen servias.* The only difference was, That the tyranny of Pompey would be established upon the authority of the senate, and Cæsar chose rather to build his upon the favour of the people. Under these difficulties Cicero remained some time, in a most uneasy situation ; at last he tells Atticus the conclusion of all his reasonings in the following words : * *Quid ergo, inquis, acturus es ? Idem quod pecudes quæ depulsæ sui generis sequuntur greges : ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos qui dicuntur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent.* He resolves to herd with his own kind ; that is, to follow those who had the reputation of being the honest party, the majority of senators, and the men whose dignity was most eminent in the Commonwealth. But though he had taken this resolution, he delayed a good while to execute it, from the natural timidity of his temper. In the mean time, some of his friends that were in Cæsar's army, and Cæsar himself, were very earnest with him to stand neuter at least, if he would not join with them, which conduct they persuaded him would be most for his honour, as well as infinitely for his advantage. But Pompey pressed him to come immediately to his camp, and in such a manner as let him see, that he resented the uncertainty of his behaviour. This alarmed him, and he began to declare himself according to his first intention, though he every day
saw

* L. VII. Ep. vii.

saw more reason to apprehend the ill success of their party. But what determined him at last was the severity with which Pompey threatened to proceed against all who remained unactive and neuters in the quarrel; † *Crudeliter minabitur otiosis*, says he in a letter to one of his friends. And in another to Atticus § he tells him, that the least he (Atticus) would suffer if Pompey should be victorious, was a confiscation of all his fortune; and that as many as continued in the same neutrality must expect to come off no better. He himself therefore, upon the report of some disadvantage Cæsar lay under in Spain (which, contrary to the expectation of his enemies, he soon surmounted), set sail, and joined Pompey at his camp in Greece, who received him coldly, as knowing he came thither very much against his will. He endeavoured to revenge himself by bitter railleries upon the ill management of their affairs, and so derided the weakness of the party, that it drew from Pompey this severe reproof, *Pass into Cæsar's camp, and then you will give over ridiculing us, and begin to fear us.* Cicero so far followed his advice, that he withdrew himself before the battle of Pharsalia, and immediately after that decisive action made his peace with the conqueror. From that time to the death of Cæsar, he led a most inglorious and dishonourable life, courting the usurper, whom in his heart he hated, with the most abject and servile adulations, entirely forgetting the dignity of his former character, and not even hiding the disgraceful circumstances of his present situation by a prudent and modest retreat, but exposing them to the eyes of the publick, and braving the censures of mankind. Yet in this unworthy and

† Ad Familiares, L. IX. Ep. v.

§ Ad Varronem, L. XI. Ep. vi.

and contemptible scene of action, which brought such a cloud upon his reputation, one merit he still preserved, that in his flatteries to Cæsar he shewed a regard to the interests of his friends, and the safety of those who had faithfully served the Commonwealth. Such a conduct shews there were yet some sparks of virtue remaining in him; and though it does not atone for the mean homage which he paid to the tyrant of his country, yet it certainly lessens the guilt, and takes off from the infamy of his crime. The conspiracy against Cæsar, which was formed and executed without his participation, is a plain proof how low he was then fallen in the opinion of honest men; for who was so fit to have engaged in a design against the life of an usurper, as the destroyer of Catiline and his accomplices? from whom could the Republick so properly expect her freedom, as from him who had before defended her in so imminent a danger? But they who espoused that cause which he had deserted, saw and knew that he had no longer spirit enough for so great an undertaking; and therefore they contented themselves with requiring his approbation afterwards, which they were satisfied he would not refuse them when the blow was struck; and then indeed, as they expected he would do, he returned to the maxims of his former policy, and his character in some measure recovered its former lustre. He entered into the interests of the conspirators, and did them all the service he was able, the particular instances of which it will not be necessary to mention here. But when he found that all was going again to wreck by the cabals of Antony and other friends of Cæsar, when Brutus and the other heads of the conspiracy were obliged to yield to the violence of the conjuncture and abandon Italy, he too judged it prudent to retire, and took shipping to go into Greece; but, meeting with contrary winds, he was driven back once or

or twice to shore ; by which delay, time was given to his friends in Rome to acquaint him with Antony's having made a decree, for the perpetual abolishment of the dictatorship, which Sylla and Cæsar had made so odious, and some other popular acts, that gave them hopes he would return to his duty, and no longer hinder the restoration of the Commonwealth. Being thus called back by, what he terms himself, the general voice of his country, and looking upon the accidents which had delayed his passage as miraculous declarations of the will of Providence to command his return, he made what haste he could to Rome, where he was received by the whole city with uncommon honours. But the good opinion he had conceived of Antony did not last long : some harsh words he spoke in the senate concerning him, occasioned a very sharp reply, which Antony resenting, loudly threatened him in his oration, and accused him as an accomplice of Cæsar's murder. Cicero from that moment kept no measures with him ; but, arming himself with all the thunder of his eloquence, poured forth those terrible invectives which compelled the senate to declare war upon Antony, and soon after drove him out of Italy. This was certainly a very great action, and one of the shining parts of Cicero's life ; but possibly he would have done the state more service, in the situation it then was, if his animosity against Antony had been less violent, because it precipitated the execution of those designs which ended in the ruin of the Commonwealth ; at least this was the opinion of Brutus, as appears by several passages in his letters. But there is another part of his conduct, which it will be more difficult to know how to justify. I mean his committing the safety of the Republick to an ambitious boy, who, from the near relation he bore to Cæsar, could never be a proper person to defend it in conjunction with his father's murderers. At first

indeed it might look like good policy, to make use of his credit among the friends and soldiers of Julius Cæsar, against the more formidable greatness of Mark Antony ; but when he afterwards grew so powerful, it was a most inconsiderate and fatal mistake to continue him any longer in employment, and put the last stake of liberty into the hands of one who had so great temptations to betray it. It seems Octavius, unexperienced as he was, had discovered the old man's weak side, and, by flattering and persuading him that he would always act subservient to his authority, had engaged him to that excessive confidence which his friends saw the danger of, though he did not. Brutus in particular, whose eyes were ever open to all that might affect the Commonwealth, made him strong and frequent instances to have a care of setting up one tyrant while he was pulling down another : but when, without any regard to these remonstrances, he carried his servility so far as even to supplicate Octavius for the lives of Brutus and the other conspirators, that truly great and free-spirited Roman could not help venting his indignation against him in two letters, one to Atticus *, and the other to Cicero himself, which are at the same time the noblest monuments of the heroick virtue of him that wrote them, and the most unanswerable condemnations of that conduct which gave occasion to them. And indeed he had too much reason to say, that Cicero acted as if he was not so solicitous about securing the liberty of his country, as to chuse a master who would be favourable to himself. But what most of all exasperated Brutus was, that in the excess of his complaisance for Octavius, he had even reflected upon Casca, whose cause had been espoused by him with so much warmth,

* Ep. xvi, xvii. ad Brutum.

warmth, and upon whose action he had bestowed such high encomiums, while he had freedom and courage to speak his mind. Of this Brutus, whose reputation was strongly linked to that of Casca, most grievously complains to Atticus, and tells him with noble contempt, that though he and his associates, in a the generous design of delivering the whole world from slavery, did not boast so much of the *Ides of March* as Cicero of the *Nones of December* *, yet their glory was not inferior to his, nor their characters less sacred. I must transcribe both the letters, if I were to repeat all the admirable reproofs which they contain of Cicero's baseness and indiscretion, in so meanly courting the enemy of the Commonwealth, and for having planted and supported a tyranny, whose roots were like to strike deeper, and grow more strongly, than that of Antony; which he valued himself upon having attempted to destroy. All that can be alledged in his excuse is, that he believed he should be able to deprive Octavius of the power he had given him, when the interest of the state should require it: there are some passages in the history of those times, which seem to favour this supposition, and even to assure us, that he intended doing it, when he was prevented by the sudden forming of the triumvirate. It is said that Pansa, who received a mortal wound at the battle of Modena, declared at his death, to the young Cæsar, that the senate only made use of him as an instrument of their vengeance upon Antony, and that they were determined to make him the next sacrifice to the jealousy of the republick. There was also an expression of Cicero reported to him, in which by an equivocation easily

* At which time Cicero quashed the conspiracy of Catiline.

easily understood, there was intimated a design to cut him off † (*laudandum juvenem ornandum tollendum*) as soon as he had served their turn ; upon which, he openly declared that he would take care to put it out of their power. If this was the case, it very much takes off from the ingratitude of Octavius, in consenting to the death of his benefactor, since such double dealing could hardly deserve the name of an obligation, let the effects of it be ever so advantageous. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think, that though his behaviour in regard to Cæsar was productive of infinite mischiefs, yet he meant well in it to the Commonwealth, and that the fault was rather of his judgment than his heart : but to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, he suffered death as a punishment for it, and fell himself the earliest victim to that tyranny his mismanagement had established †. There was something mean in the circumstances that immediately preceded his murder ; but at the instant of death itself he behaved with dignity, and shewed a firmness not unworthy of a Roman.

In his private character he was very amiable, only sometimes too much given to raillery, a fault which very witty men are seldom wise enough to shun. I cannot pass so severe a censure as some have done upon his grief for the death of his daughter Tullia, whose extraordinary merit is a sufficient answer to those who reproach it with the name of weakness. Great minds are most sensible of such losses ; and the sentiments of humanity and affection are usually most tender, where in every other respect there is the greatest strength of reason.

I shall

* V. Epist. D. Bruto, lib. XL. ad Familiares, Ep. 20.

† See Plutarch.

I shall close these observations with one remark upon the works of Cicero, that they are a strong proof how essential freedom is to the excellency of writing, particularly in the two most manly kinds of it, philosophy and oratory; since, after the loss of the Roman liberties, they were so far from ever being equalled, that all attempts which were made to imitate them, served only to demonstrate that the genius and learning of Rome were sunk together with its constitution. Poetry indeed, and other parts of literature which are only for amusement, may possibly flourish under the smiles of an arbitrary Prince; but force and solidity of reasoning, or a sublime and commanding eloquence, are inconsistent with slavish restraint, or timorous dependancy.

OBSER-

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OBSER.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

IN the early part of my youth I wrote a little treatise, entitled *Observations on the Life of Cicero*, which went through two editions: the first coming out in the year 1731, the second in the year 1741. During the last of these years Dr. Middleton also published his *Life of Cicero*, in the preface to which elegant and elaborate work he did me the honour to take some notice of mine, and expressed a wish that I should re-consider the subject in a more extensive view of that great man's whole conduct. Finding my mind disengaged from other occupations, I now obey that call; and, upon examining the general state of the times in which Cicero lived, I have made some reflections, which induce me to enlarge my first design, so as to take in the whole period from the first alteration of the Roman republick into an absolute monarchy, by the short usurpation of Cornelius Sylla, to the final settlement of the *Imperial* power, another species of despotism, no less violently assumed, but more moderately exercised, and more artfully constituted, by Augustus Cæsar.

The means by which Sylla, after a dangerous contest, obtained an uncontrouled dominion over Rome, are so well set forth by Plutarch, * that no
comment

* V. Plut. Vit. Syll. & Mar.

comment upon them will be necessary here. I shall only take notice of a weighty observation, made by another historian, * who wrote in those times, viz. that the army, which, under the command of this consul, expelled Caius Marius and all his party out of Rome, *was the first Roman army which ever had entered into that city in a hostile manner.* To this I will add, that Sylla was the first Roman general who ventured to resist a decree of the people, however ill procured, and to continue himself in the command of an army against their orders, by the aid and strength of that army. But it must be also observed, that although the dissensions preceding this event had not risen to the height of civil war, yet for some time before these legions drew their swords in their general's quarrel, the violent outrages of the tribune Sulpicius and his armed band of ruffians, which he called his Anti-senate, had, in effect, destroyed the legal government and liberty of the state. Nor was it only the fury of a popular faction which had produced these disorders. By the barbarous murder of Tiberius Gracchus the senate itself had set the example of such pernicious riots. The laws, which could not guard the sacred person of a tribune from the clubs of a mob brought against him by the nobles, became as unable to protect the nobles from the daggers of villains, banded together against them by seditious plebeians. And this anarchy soon constrained both parties to resort to a military force.

At the end of the civil war Sylla found himself master of the Roman commonwealth. Had he then sheathed the sword, without doing any injury to the freedom of his country, he would have been ranked among her greatest heroes: but, against the whole tenor of his former behaviour, he shewed himself a worse

* App. Alexandrin. de Bello Civili, l. i.

worse tyrant than Marius had been in the utmost excesses of his despotism and cruelty, after Cinna had brought him back to Rome.

It would be out of the compass of what I propose in these remarks, were I to relate all the horrors of the bloody proscription carried on by Sylla's orders: but, concerning the magistracy, under the name of which he chose to exercise his tyranny, (I mean the dictatorship) something must be said in this place.

The institution of this office was almost coæval with the liberty of Rome. Twelve years after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, or, as some reckon, only eight, * (*ita lex jubebat de dictatore creando lata*) a law was made for the creating of a dictator, with a power superior to that of all other officers, military or civil, and subject to no appeal, being only restrained by the following limitations—that it was to be exercised within the bounds of Italy, and not for more than six months. The idea of it seems to have been taken from Alba, † of which city the Romans were a colony, and may therefore have adopted, without much deliberation, what had been practised there: but the occasion of their having recourse to it was (according to Livy) the instant dread of a war, which thirty Latin cities, confederated with the Sabines, threatened to make against Rome.

Other reasons have been given, but this seems the most probable; because military operations are better carried on by a single commander, than by two equal chiefs; and the people, at a time of imminent danger, might more easily be induced to constitute such an officer for the defence of their country against foreign enemies, than if the law had been first proposed by the senate for any political purpose. Yet they should have considered, that the dictatorial power

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extended

* Liv. l. 1. c. 18.

† Liv. ut supra.

extended over the state, as well as over the army, and that the nobles might use it as an engine against *them* upon other occasions.

The nomination of this magistrate appears to have been assigned by law to either of the two consuls; but the choice was confined to some one of those senators who had before obtained the consulship: and the usual method was, for the senate to decree, upon any great exigency, that a dictator should be made, and to direct on what person of consular dignity the nomination should fall. Yet it was in the power of either of the consuls, without any order from *them*, and without the approbation of his colleague, to name, of his own accord, any consular senator to this supreme magistracy; and their approbation, concurring with such an appointment, fully ratified and confirmed it, however disagreeable it might be to the people. A remarkable instance of this, and likewise of the use occasionally made of the dictatorial power for the purposes of the senate, occurs in the account which is given by Livy * of the events of the year 316 from the building of Rome. He tells us, that the senate reproaching the consuls with a neglect of their duty, for not having exerted the authority of their charge to punish a conspiracy of the Roman knight, Spurius Mælius, with some tribunes of the people, against the Commonwealth, one of them said, “The blame laid on them was unjust: for they, being subject to the controul of the laws, which had given an appeal from them to the people, wanted strength in their magistracy, more than they did in their minds, to inflict the vengeance due to a crime of this nature. (*Opus esse non forti solum viro, sed etiam libero exsolutoque legum vinculis. Itaque se dictatorem Lucium Quintium dicturum.*) That there was

* L. iv. c. 13, 14, 15. Ann. Urb. Condit. 316.

was need of a man, not only courageous, but moreover *free, and not fettered with the restraints of the laws.* He therefore would name *Lucius Quintius dictator.*"

The whole senate approving it, Lucius Quintius was accordingly named to that office; and the next day guards of soldiers having been placed in the forum, Caius Servilius Ahala, whom he had appointed his general of the horse, cited Mælius, by his orders, to come before his tribunal, and answer there to the charge brought against him in the senate. But, he calling on the people to succour him in this danger, which, he said, was drawn upon him by his kindness to them and the malice of the senate, some of them rescued him from the hands of an officer, who was going to carry him before the dictator: whereupon Servilius, assisted by a band of young patricians, followed him into the croud, in which he had taken refuge, and killed him there with his own hand: after which, covered over with the blood he had shed, he went back to Quintius, and told him what he had done. That magistrate praised him *for having freed the republick*; and then, in an harangue which he made to the people, whom the sight of this deed had thrown into a tumult, declared, (*Mælium jure cæsum, etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit, qui vocatus a magistro equitum ad dictatorem non venisset.*) That Mælius, though he were innocent of aspiring to make himself king of Rome, with which he had been charged, was yet justly put to death, because, having been cited by the master of the horse, to come before the dictator, he did not come.

When we consider, that this man was probably guilty of no other treason, than affecting to render himself too popular, by largesses of corn to the people, in a time of great dearth; it must appear that a power, which, upon such an occasion, could so suddenly be called forth, and so violently exercised, was

not very consistent with the much-boasted liberty of the Roman republick.

The constitution of that state is praised by Polybius, * as a happy mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, but the dictatorship brought into it a kind of domination more properly tyrannical than regal.

For, in a limited monarchy, the king is not absolute, but restrained by the laws, and his ministers are responsible to the other estates of the kingdom, or the courts of judicature therein, for any abuse of his power: but a dictator in Rome (*absolutus legum vinculus*) was absolved by his office from all restraints of the laws, and not accountable to the senate, or assembly of the people, or any other jurisdiction, for any act he had done in the exercise of his charge, however arbitrary or illegal. If it be said, that the regal power in the Roman constitution was exercised by consuls, and the dictatorship was only an extraordinary remedy, to which recourse was had in sudden emergencies, when the ordinary course of government was unable to answer the exigency of the state, or provide for its safety, I answer, that not only the consuls, or the senate, or both these powers united, but the people also, as one constitutional part of the Roman commonwealth, ought to have judged of the necessity of employing this remedy, so dangerous to their freedom, and without their consent it never should have been used. Thus, in England, where a mixed constitution of government unites the powers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, much more happily than that of Rome ever did, even in its best state, (as I hope to shew in the course of these remarks) if extraordinary danger require that the Habeas Corpus law (the great security of our freedom)

* Polyb. l. vi.

freedom) should for a time be suspended, it can only be done by the joint advice and authority of the whole legislature. And if, in any case where delay would be fatal, the safety of the public apparently obliges the king, in whom alone the executive power resides, to act against this or any other law, without having been previously empowered so to do by both houses of parliament, his ministers are responsible for it to their country, and can no otherwise be secured than by a bill of indemnity, which, if the necessity pleaded for their justification is found to have been real, the lords and commons will not refuse to pass. But, in Rome, a single consul, agreeing with the senate to name a dictator, without the concurrence and against the will of the people, might subject, at any time, the liberty and the life of every Roman citizen to the arbitrary power of one man, set above all the laws, and in no way responsible, for the exercise of his sovereignty, to the justice of the state. Indeed, after the end of the second Punic war, the senate itself grew so jealous of the danger of this office, that, for 120 years before Sylla took it, no dictator was appointed. The manner in which he chose to have it conferred demands observation.

Both the consuls of the year 670, * from the building of Rome, having perished in the war which Sylla and his friends made against them, he notified to the senate, that, agreeably to the custom of their ancestors in such cases, they should create an *interrex*, to hold the *comitia* for electing new consuls. They named to that office, the president of the senate, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, to whom Sylla wrote, and bade him report his opinion to the people, that the present state of affairs required the appointment of a dictator; not for the term of six months, but till the whole

* Appian. de Bello Civ. l. i.

whole commonwealth, and every part of the empire, which the civil wars had shaken, should be more firmly settled, and brought into better order; adding, at the end of his letter, that, if the senate approved it, he offered himself to do the republick this service. His offer was understood to be a command: he therefore was named dictator by the *interrex*, without any term being fixed for the expiration of his office; and thus (says Appian *) *the dictatorship, which had before been a tyranny limited to a short time, this restraint being taken off, became a tyranny complete.*

Nor yet was the dictator content with this indefinite prolongation of his power; but caused a law to be proposed by the *interrex* to the people, which *ratified all his acts, whatever they might be; and authorized him to put to death, without a trial, any citizen of Rome, according to his pleasure.*

Cicero, speaking of this law, in one of his orations, † calls it *the most unjust and the most unlike a law, that had ever been made*; and in his treatise *De Legibus*, considers it *as null and void in itself*. Yet to such an extreme degree of servility were the people and senate reduced, that it was enacted without the least opposition; and Sylla rewarded Flaccus for having been the propounder of it, by naming him to the dignity of his general of the horse!

Having thus, under the colour of a legal authority, assumed the most absolute and enormous despotism, he made several laws for the settlement of the state, chiefly tending to raise the power of the senate. This was contrary to the policy of every other tyrant, who, either at Rome, or elsewhere, had ever enslaved

* Appian. de Bello Civ. l. i. † De Lege Agraria, contra Rullum, Orat. 17. De Legibus, l. i. c. 15.

ved a free country! But the spirit of party was strong in Sylla's mind; and, as all his greatest enemies had courted the people, he was led by resentment, and by every connexion he had hitherto formed, to favour the nobles. In acting on this plan his principal object was, to reduce the authority of the tribunes of the people. But, before I take notice of what he did to that purpose, some account must be given of the nature and power of the tribunitial office.

About fifteen years after the expulsion of Tarquin, * in the 260th year of Rome, the people obtained, by a treaty with the senate, that they should, for the future, have magistrates of their own, whose persons should be deemed inviolably sacred; and that no patrician should be capable of holding this magistracy, which, by what was called *intercession*, had a power to protect them against any injuries from the consuls or senate. The number of these magistrates, at their first institution, † was five, and continued so till the year of Rome 296, when it was augmented to ten, and never afterwards altered. They were annually chosen; and a law was made, in the year of Rome 282, § that the elections should be in the assembly of the people, not by centuries, but by tribes, from which the patricians were entirely excluded, and where, the lowest of the populace always making a majority, the sense of the better sort was little regarded. Soon after their first creation, the tribunes added to the power of protecting the people that of accusing the nobles and judging them by the people, and of stopping, by a negative from any one of their number, any decree of the senate! These points being gained notwithstanding all the force of a warm
opposition

* Liv. l. ii. c. 33. Dionys. Halic. l. viii.

† Liv. l. iii. c. 30. § L. ii. c. 56, 57.

opposition on the part of the nobles, the tribunes in process of time extended their authority to a right of proposing any law to the people without the assent of the senate, and referring to them any business treated of in that house.

The exercise of these powers was carried on with a violence more resembling the anarchy of a state of war, than the orderly acts of regular magistrates in a well-settled commonwealth. Tiberius Gracchus, in the year of Rome 619, forbade any publick business to be carried on in the city, till, notwithstanding the opposition of one of his colleagues, his Agrarian law had been proposed to the people. He also sealed up the door of the treasury, that none of the quæstors, who had the administration of the publick revenue, might enter into it; and stopped the prætors from performing the duty of their office in trying of causes, by threatening them with fines, till every obstacle to his legislation from any other magistrate should have been removed. In the year of Rome 614,* the tribunes of the people contending for what they had no right to, that each of them should have a power to exempt from the obligation of military service ten citizens at his choice; and the consuls of that year resisting the attempt, they ordered both those supreme magistrates to be carried to prison; which was accordingly done: an act, by which the whole majesty of the consular power, which represented the regal, was violated and destroyed. If such exertions of the tribunitial power had been frequent, the government must have fallen into a mere democracy, or rather, indeed, into a tyrannical oligarchy in the persons of the tribunes; but the administration of this power being divided, at first, between five persons, and afterwards between ten, a check was usually given to the extravagances

* Liv. l. lv. c. 2.

vagances of it, by the opposition of some one among those magistrates to what the others proposed: and to this, on many occasions, * the senate had recourse, particularly in their contest with Tiberius Gracchus about his Agrarian laws, the passing of which they obstructed by the intercession or negative of Marcus Octavius, one of his colleagues: nor could he any otherwise get over that obstacle, than by causing the people to depose Octavius, if he would not desist from that opposition which his magistracy gave him a right to make. This had never been done in any other instance, and was then considered by many as an odious act of violence, which, for the purposes of a factious demagogue, flagrantly violated the sanctity given by the laws to the person of a tribune, and tended to destroy the sacred power of that office by the people themselves. But Gracchus pleaded, with great force, the necessity of it, in order to prevent the betraying of the people, in points of the highest moment, by some of those very magistrates who were instituted to serve them. And it must be confessed that the blame of this irregular act ought less to fall on him than on the bad constitution of the magistracy itself. As unanimity in all those invested therewith could seldom be hoped for, the only means of giving consistency to it, and carrying things on in a quiet and orderly course, would have been the deciding of all differences among them, by a majority of votes: but, each having a power, by his single opposition, to stop any act of his colleagues, the obstinacy of one was sufficient to obstruct any business; and that impediment could not be removed by any other method than depriving him of his office.

* See Livy, l. ii. c. 44. l. iv. 48. l. vi. 35. 39. et al. Appian, Plutarch, Epitome libri lviii. Liv. Freinshem Supplem.

NOTES on the preceding OBSERVATIONS.

P. 34. *And the usual method was, for the senate to decree, upon any great exigency, that a dictator should be made, and to direct on what person of consular dignity the nomination should fall.*

In relating the transactions of the year 318 from the building of Rome, Livy uses these words, "Major itaque ex civibus amissis dolor quam lætitia fufis hostibus fuit; *et senatus (ut in trepidis rebus) dictatorem dici Mamercum Æmiliū jussit.*" See also other proofs of their exercising this power, which the same historian gives, l. iv. c. 46. Ann. Urb. Condit. 317. l. ix. c. 38. Ann. Urb. Condit. 444.

Yet we find that some consuls did not think themselves bound to obey such an order: for (as Livy also informs us*) in the year of Rome 324, the senate, alarmed at the extraordinary preparations of the Æqui and Volsci against the Roman state, and still more apprehensive of bad consequences from the discord between the two consuls, who differed in all counsels the one from the other, recurred to the expedient of creating a dictator: but those magistrates, so discordant in all other points, agreed in pertinaciously refusing to name one: whereupon, as the danger, by new intelligences brought, seemed to be more and more dreadful, Quintus Servilius Priscus, who, with a great reputation, had held the highest dignities of the commonwealth, applying himself to some of the tribunes of the people, who were present in the senate-house, told them, *the senate called upon them in that extremity to compel the consuls, by their power, to name a dictator.*

There

* L. iv. c. 26.

There had never been a precedent, either of such a refusal on the part of the consuls, or of such an application on the part of the senate. The tribunes, glad of the opportunity to augment their power, after consulting apart with all their colleagues, declared, *It was their pleasure, that the consuls should obey the decree of the senate; and if these should persist in a longer resistance against it, they would send them to prison.* The consuls, chusing (says Livy) to be overcome by the tribunes rather than by the senate, yielded to this command; but not without a protest against the injury done to the consular power, which the senate thus betrayed. Nor yet could they agree which should name the dictator, but ended the dispute by casting lots.

In the year of Rome 347,* when the consular office was exercised by three military tribunes, instead of two consuls, these making a resistance to a decree of the senate for creating a dictator, the tribunes of the people were again applied to by that body, for the aid of their power to force a compliance: but they, discontented at seeing the plebeians perpetually excluded, by the influence and intrigues of the patricians, from the military tribuneship, to which, by law, they might attain, though not to the consulship, sullenly refused their assistance. Yet they said, that, when all the dignities of the state should be, without distinction, communicated to the people, *they would then take good care that the decrees of the senate should not be made ineffectual by any arrogance of the magistrates.* This resource having failed, the contention was kept up between the senate and two of the military tribunes; who, thinking themselves equal to the conduct of the war, complained “that the dignity they had obtained from the people, should be
thus

* Liv. l. iv. 58.

thus taken from them: but the third said, that hitherto he had remained silent, because he rather desired that his colleagues should yield to the authority of the senate, without any force upon them, than suffer the power of the tribunes of the people to be implored against them. That even now he would willingly give them more time to alter their opinion, if the exigency of the state could bear that delay; but, as the necessity of war would not wait for longer consultations, he would prefer the service of the publick to their good-will, and contenting himself with the sole authority of the senate (whatever opposition might be made against it) would name a dictator that night." He did so; and this shews, that any one of the consuls, or military tribunes, with consular power, might name a dictator without the consent of his colleague or colleagues: the reason of which, doubtless, was, that the natural unwillingness in the mind of such a magistrate, to make over to another the supreme command, would probably hinder its being unnecessarily or wantonly done; but on many occasions a contrary disposition might be well apprehended; and the absence of one consul, or military tribune, on the publick service abroad, might happen to disappoint the desire of the senate, if the concurrence of both consuls, or of all the military tribunes, had been necessary to this act.

In the year of Rome 542,* the senate decreed, that the consul, before he went out of the city, *should ask the people whom they would be pleased to have him name dictator, and should name the person they ordered*; adding, that, if the consul refused to refer this matter to the people, the prætor should do it; and, if the prætor would not, it should be done by the tribunes.

* Livy, l. xxvii. 5.

bunes. The consul did refuse, declaring that he would not consult the people on a matter *which was in his own power*, and forbade the prætor to do it; whereupon it was done by the tribunes of the people, and the people enacted, that *Quintus Fulvius, who was then at Capua, should be named dictator*. Quum consul se populum rogaturum negasset, quod sue potestatis esset, prætoremque vetuisset rogare; tribuni plebis rogarunt, plebesque scivit, ut *Q. Fulvius, qui tum ad Capuam erat, dictator diceretur*.

I find no other instance in the Roman history of the senate's submitting to the will of the people the nomination of the person who should be raised to this office.

The purpose of creating a dictator at this time was only that the comitia, or assembly of the people for electing the magistrates of the ensuing year, might be held by that officer, instead of one of the consuls; it being necessary that both should be absent from Rome upon military service, in their several provinces, when the assembly was held. The cause of referring the affair to the people, in this extraordinary manner, was a difference which arose between the senate and the consul, M. Valerius Lævinus; the latter chusing to name M. Valerius Messala, who commanded the Roman fleet in Sicily, to which province he was going; and the fathers denying that a dictator could legally be named out of Italy. The dispute was ended, in consequence of the decree of the people, by the other consul, Marcellus, being sent for to Rome, and naming Quintus Fulvius, agreeably to their order.

P. 34. "He tells us, that the senate reproaching the consuls with a neglect of their duty, for not having exerted the authority of their charge, to punish a conspiracy of the Roman knight, Spurius Mælius, with some tribunes of the people, against the commonwealth,

monwealth, one of them said, *The blame laid on them was unjust: for they, being subject to the controul of the laws, which had given an appeal from them to the people, wanted strength in their magistracy, more than they did in their minds, to inflict the vengeance due to a crime of this nature. That there was need of a man, not only courageous, but moreover free, and not fettered with the restraints of the laws. He therefore would name Lucius Quintius dictator.* * The words of Livy are these: "Tum Titus Quintius, consules immerito increpari, ait, qui constricti legibus de provocatione, ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindicandum animi haberent. Opus esse non forti solum viro, sed etiam libero exsolutoque legum vinculis. Itaque se dictatorem Lucium Quintium dicturum."

These words seem entirely to overturn the opinion of some learned writers on the Roman history, that the law, proposed by the consuls, Horatius and Valerius, in the year of Rome 306, established a right of appealing to the people against the acts or decrees of a dictator. For, had this been true, it would have been the grossest absurdity for Livy to make T. Quintius, no more than ten years afterwards, (ann. U. C. 316) give it as a reason for naming a dictator, that the consuls *being subject to the laws of appeal*, had not strength in their magistracy sufficient for the exigency of the state at that time. A magistrate *equally subject to the laws of appeal*, could not have supplied the defect of power in them. But the historian says expressly, that the dictator was free from that restraint, *liber exsolutusque legum vinculis*. Indeed it appears that the law of Horatius and Valerius had no reference to the dictatorial

* Ann. Urb. Condit. 316.

torial office, the object of it being to prevent the introduction of any new-invented magistracy, such as the decemvirate had been, without the controul of an appeal to the people. Livy * writes of it thus : “ *Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum præsidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate everfam, non restitunt modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet, qui creasset eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.*” The dictatorship certainly was not a magistracy created after this law, having been established long before, in the year of Rome 253 or 257. And what power the law *de dictatore creando* had originally given to it, the same historian informs us in the following words : “ *Creato dictatore primum Romæ, postquam præferri secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incescit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim, ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate erant, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, nec ullum, nisi in curâ parendi, auxilium.*” It was therefore a power without appeal, either to any other magistrate or to the people ; a power against the terror of which the people had no help, but unresisting obedience. And this refutes the opinion of Algernon Sidney, who in his celebrated Essay on Government, † contends that when dictators are said to have been *sine provocatione*, it is only to be understood in relation to other magistrates, and not to the people ; which, he says, “ is clearly proved in the case of Quintus Fabius, whom Papirius, the dictator, would have put to death (Liv. l. iii. c. 33.) “ *Tribunos plebis appello* (says Fabius’s father) *et provoco ad populum, eumque tibi fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti senatus judicium, judicem fero, qui* “ *certè*

* L. iii. c. 55. † P. 118.

“ *certè unus plusquam tua dictatura potest polletque :*
 “ *videro cessurusne sis provocationi, cui Tullus Hos-*
 “ *tilius cessit ?*”

But, if we look to what followed (as the same historian * relates it) we shall find that Papirius continued firm in asserting the majesty of his office ; and, though he spared the life of Fabius, at the intercession of the people, yet he took care to express, that the offender was not saved by any reversal or over-ruling of the sentence which he had past against him, nor by any right in the tribunes, or in the people, to help him, but was given to their prayers.

“ *Stupentes tribunos, et suam jam vicem magis*
 “ *anxios, quam ejus, cui auxilium ab se petebatur,*
 “ *liberavit onere consensus populi Romani ad preces*
 “ *et obtestationem versus, ut sibi pœnam magistri*
 “ *equitum dictator remitteret, tribuni quoque inclina-*
 “ *tam rem in preces subsecuti orare dictatorem in-*
 “ *sistunt ut veniam errori humano, veniam adolescentiæ*
 “ *Q. Fabii daret, satis eum pœnarum dedisse. Jam*
 “ *ipse adolescens, jam pater M. Fabius contentionis*
 “ *obliti procumbere ad genua, et iram deprecari dic-*
 “ *tatoris. Tum dictator, silentio facto, bene habet,*
 “ *inquit, Quirites, vicit disciplina militaris ; vicit*
 “ *imperii majestas, quæ in discrimine fuerunt, an*
 “ *ulla post hunc diem essent. Non noxæ eximitur*
 “ *Q. Fabius, qui contra edictum imperatoris pug-*
 “ *navit ; sed noxæ damnatus donatur populo Ro-*
 “ *mano, donatur tribunitiæ potestati, precarium*
 “ *non justum auxilium ferenti.*”

From all this it appears, that no lawful authority in the tribunes or people of Rome delivered Q. Fabius from the sentence pronounced by the dictatorial power. He was only saved because they *supplicated* for him ; and their *supplications* themselves were a
 very

* Liv. l. viii. 34, 35.

very sufficient proof *that no appeal lay to them*. They might indeed (as the right of making laws was in them, especially with the consent of the senate) have passed a law (*plebiscitum*) to restrain the dictatorial power from acting against Fabius, as they afterwards did pass one, in favour of Minucius *, to render the power of the master of the horse equal to that of the dictator : for laws may be made repugnant to the principles of any constitution by an abuse of the legislative authority in those to whom it is trusted : and this, it seems, was what Papirius apprehended ; but he firmly maintained the constitutional power belonging to the office, of judging in this case without the controul of any appeal to them ; and this independency, asserted by him, they in effect acknowledged, when they had recourse to entreaties against the execution of his decree, instead of reversing it, or stopping its effect, by any act of theirs.

* Liv. l. xxii. 25.

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE PRESENT

STATE OF OUR AFFAIRS,

A T

HOME AND ABROAD.

I N A

LETTER to a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT,
From a FRIEND in the Country.

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CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE PRESENT

STATE OF OUR AFFAIRS

AT

HOME AND ABROAD.

IN A

LETTER TO A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

FROM A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY.

18

A
 L E T T E R
 TO A
 MEMBER of PARLIAMENT,
 FROM A
 FRIEND in the COUNTRY.

S I R,

I AM a private gentleman of some property in the county of ——— and voted for you at the election of this parliament. I voted for you neither as a whig nor as a tory ; but as a gentleman, whom I believed to be in the interest of my country. For this reason only I preferred you to your competitor, and *gave* you the vote I might have *sold* to him. Since that time I have heard with pleasure of your conduct, and find no reason to repent of my choice. You serve me well in parliament, and I don't desire to be served by you *any where else*. I have never solicited, I never will solicit you, though you should come to have a better interest at court, for any of those *little places*, which seem of late to have been multiplied, only to answer the demands of men in my situation, as far as possible, upon those in yours ; and which are become almost the *only subject of correspondence* between members of parliament, and their *friends in the country*. You will therefore permit me to take the liberty of corresponding with you on another foot, and after four years silence to remind

remind you a little of what I have a right to expect from you as my representative. The importance of the conjuncture will excuse my presumption. It is not difficult for us now to speak upon these matters : they are brought so home to our minds, they are made so plain to our senses, that we cannot be doubtful what opinion to form. It is hardly necessary to *reason* ; it is enough to *feel*. There is a time, when wrong and mischievous measures may be disguised ; but there is a time too, when they will discover themselves. While the evil seeds are sowing, those alone are alarmed, who have penetration enough to see things in their causes ; but when they are grown up, and the fruits appear, the gross of mankind have capacity to judge, and spirit to complain. This, Sir, is the circumstance of the people of England. They suffer too much to be amused : and if they continue to suffer, it will not be from error, or insensibility, but from such causes as I do not care to suppose. There is reason to hope that their complaints will be redressed ; and in that hope I write this letter to you. I shall propose to your consideration some particular points which, we in the country think, should make the business of this session ; and if you agree to my reasonings, I dare promise myself, you will not afterwards *differ from them in your conduct*.

Sir, we are a trading nation ; and whatever affects our trade is our nearest concern, and ought to be our principal care.

Of all the branches of our commerce, that to our own colonies is the most valuable upon many accounts. If I am rightly informed, it is by *that alone* we are enabled now to carry on the rest. And as it is the most useful to us, so for many reasons it naturally ought to be *the most secure*. Foreign markets may be lost or spoilt by various accidents : other nations may get in, and carry commodities, that
may

may be preferred to ours ; or, by working cheaper, may be able perhaps to undersell us *there*. And by these means I am afraid we have found our trade decline considerably in many parts of the world. But in our own plantations nothing of this can happen. The trade we have there is engrossed by ourselves ; all other nations are excluded from it, and we carry it on under such regulations as are most for our advantage. In consequence of which, it is the nursery of our seamen, the support of our navigation, and the life of our manufactures.

But of late years our merchants passing to and from our colonies have been stopped, examined, plundered, and abused by the Spaniards, our ships confiscated, and our seamen enslaved, so that the navigation thither is become so dangerous, that, if an effectual stop be not soon put to these practices, this most beneficial commerce will be utterly lost. The original source of them is a right of sovereignty which the Spaniards arrogate to themselves in the American seas ; a claim that has always been treated with derision and scorn by every power in Europe, and particularly by us who were really masters of those seas, from the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, down to the weak one of King Charles the Second. And this claim of Spain is still so far from being owned by us, that though it *be a secret motive*, they have not yet had the insolence to avow it openly as *the cause* of their proceedings. But they treat every British ship, which they are able to master, as if the sailing only in those seas was a sufficient cause of confiscation. They have seized and condemned outward-bound ships, above a hundred leagues from any shore, without any pretence at all ; and where they are graciously pleased to assign pretences for their depredations, *those pretences are worse than the depredations themselves*. They pretend that every ship, which has *logwood, cocoa-nuts, or pieces of eight* aboard,

aboard, is lawful prize. Now two of these grow in our own colonies; and the South-sea company, by the *Asiento* contract, furnish the Spaniards with Negroes, which they pay for in pieces of eight; and as the principal market for these Negroes is Jamaica, this occasions the circulating a great deal of that specie there: so that we might with full as good reason stop the ships of Spain in their passage by Jamaica, or our other plantations, and confiscate them formally, if we find aboard of them either *logwood*, *cocoa-nuts*, or *pieces of eight*: for this will just as well prove that *they* have been trading with *our colonies*, as our having such goods aboard can prove that *we* have been trading with *theirs*. And their manner of trial is a mockery of justice, which would be highly *ridiculous*, if the effects of it were not so *terrible*. The cause is tried in their own courts in America, a Spanish advocate is to plead for our merchants, and the judges themselves almost always share in the prize. The consequence of this is, that every ship which is taken by them must be confiscated.

But supposing, for argument sake, that all those species of goods upon which sentence is past by this most righteous judicature, were undeniable proofs of an *illicit trade*, on what ground of the law of nations, or by what article of any treaty, have the Spaniards a right *to stop or search our ships at all*? Where a general trade is allowed, one species of goods may be prohibited; as, for instance, wool, or fuller's earth; and the exporting it may be highly penal: but did this country ever pretend, when her naval power was at the height, to stop ships *out at sea*, in order to search whether such commodities were aboard? would the little republick of Genoa endure our doing it? could any thing less than a conquest bring her to submit to it? But the doing it in America is much less defensible. For where no general trade is allowed, no one particular species of
goods

goods can be more *prohibited* than another, and *the searching there* has no object at all, and no foundation in reason. All the rules therefore laid down in the treaty of 1667, between England and Spain, concerning the method of searching for prohibited goods, are plainly confined to Europe, where a general trade is allowed; and have no relation to America, where all trade is forbid. For in the one case they may be necessary, but in the other they must be useless. And it is much to be wished, that this most manifest distinction *had been better understood by our ministers* in their treating with Spain; and that, by insisting on articles which are not to our purpose, they had not weakened those by which our rights are secured. The ground on which those rights stand is the law of nations, which establishes a freedom of navigation to all, and considers the sea as an universal benefit, not a particular property or dominion of one: there is no nation *so powerful*, none *so proud* in the world, as directly to deny this maxim; there is none *so weak*, none *so abject*, as to give it up. We have been so far from departing from it by treaty, that in all those we have made concerning America it is expressly stipulated, and indubitably confirmed, particularly in that of 1670; which declares that *the freedom of navigation ought by no manner of means to be interrupted*, and makes no other exception to this general rule, than a reciprocal prohibition to both nations in America, to come *into* the ports and havens of the other *to trade there*; for in cases of distress, or necessity, the same treaty allows, that *they may come into them*, and ought to be kindly received. As to our sailing *near their coasts*, it is not only permitted, but it is of absolute necessity in the course of our voyage to and from our own plantations in America: *how near* we shall go to them, it is impossible to fix, because it depends upon circumstances we cannot command, as
winds,

winds, and tides ; but *very near* we must go frequently ; and they reciprocally must go near to ours. No treaty therefore has ever settled any bounds, except the ports and havens of either crown in America, within which it shall not be lawful to sail ; nor can they be settled, so as not to be liable to *infinite difficulties*, and *endless chicane*.

It remains then certain, that in reason, and justice, by the law of nations, and by all our treaties, the way to and from our dominions in America is as free as the passage between London and Bristol ; and that Spain has no more right to stop and search our ships in the seas of America, than in the *British* channel.

Indeed this practice of *searching* is so very inexcusable, that it cannot be supported upon any notion of right. Nothing can warrant it but superior force, and the famous argument of Brennus, *Væ Victis!* All sorts of mischiefs must arise from admitting it, or from merely suffering it, as we have sadly experienced, and no one inconvenience can attend its being denied. Were our ships found trading in the *Spanish* ports and havens themselves, even in that case, though they ought to be *confiscated*, it is a great absurdity to suppose they should be *searched*. For as the ship and cargo, be it what it will, is forfeited by our being there without distress, or necessity, to what intent or purpose is *a search* to be made after any particular species we may have aboard ? But upon this pretence to stop our ships on the high seas, is *to insult our understanding, and despise our power*, as well as to infringe our rights, and to destroy our trade.

Thus for some years things have gone on from bad to worse, England complaining and remonstrating, Spain chicaning and insulting ; satisfaction sometimes refused, sometimes promised, never given : our negotiations, and our losses always continuing, and *en-*
creasing

creasing almost in the same proportion: at last our merchants weary of these useless methods applied *a third time* to parliament, and petitioned there for redress. In the course of their examination it appeared too plain, that we had been treated by Spain with the utmost injustice, the utmost barbarity, and the utmost contempt: and that no one effectual step had been taken to procure reparation of our losses, satisfaction to our honour, or security for our trade. It appeared indeed, that as far as *writing* would go, our ministry had tried to put a stop to these insults. They had spared no pains, they had spared *no paper*. Memorials, representations to the court of Spain had been as frequent, and as little minded, as the orders and cédulas sent from thence, in behalf of our merchants, to the Spanish tribunals, and governors in America. Neither produced any effect, but to encrease the depredations, augment our sufferings, and amuse the sufferers. Nay, though in consequence of a treaty with Spain, in which we served her *more perhaps than we could justify*, commissaries were appointed to adjust these differences, and obtain restitution for our losses, as a return for *favours received*, though they continued negotiating for some years in Spain, though much was promised from this commission, yet it does not appear, that any body got by it, *but the commissaries themselves*.

Upon the proof of all this it was the sense of parliament, that more effectual measures ought to be pursued. And to enable his majesty to take them, great supplies were voted, great armaments made; the whole nation expected, and desired a war, if such a peace could not be gained, as would retrieve our honour, and secure our trade. Soon after the parliament rose, the war appeared inevitable: strong fleets were fitted out, and sent to Spain, and the Indies: this could not be done without a vast expence, great
obstruction

obstruction to our trade, and hardships on our sailors. Yet such was the spirit of the people, such their resentment at the indignities put upon the king and nation, that they came into it chearfully; and not a murmur was heard unless against the Spaniards. I believe it will be difficult to find a period in history, when this nation was so universally and so eagerly bent upon a war, as at that time. They had a just abhorrence, and a just *disdain* of the Spaniards; nor did *those*, who are known to judge the best of foreign affairs, apprehend any danger, *at that crisis*, from any *other more formidable* power; so that all concluded we should act *with vigour*, when it was more than probable we might act *with success*: and the effort we had made, the force we had raised, was very sufficient to give us a superiority in so just a quarrel; a quarrel in which all nations trading to America had an equal interest, and a *common cause* with England: it was now believed, our administration would shew, that their former remissness did not proceed from fear, or negligence; but that they curbed their spirit till *the point of time*, when they might be sure to exert it with *decisive advantages*. This their friends gave out, and candid men were willing to think; especially as it was said, that *one great person* had declared, he thought it for the interest of a minister to have war rather than peace. But in the height and warmth of these expectations, while all Europe was intent on the motions and operations of our fleets, we heard of a convention being signed, and that we might expect a speedy accommodation of our differences by a peace.

Of the terms of this convention you will, no doubt, be apprised at the meeting of the parliament; and then you will judge, whether it is proportionate to the charge we have been at, the opportunity we have neglected, the wrongs we have sustained, the satisfaction and security we have a right to expect.

I only

I only beg leave to mark out to you *two principal points*, upon which I think you cannot mistake in forming your judgment. If we make a peace, it ought to be such, as *will remove*, in the most effectual manner, both the *cause*, and *pretence*, of the injuries done us by the Spanish nation.

Now *the pretence* for them has been solely this, that they claim a right of stopping and searching our ships, on the high seas, or near their own coasts; which claim of theirs is unsupported by treaty, and directly repugnant to the law of nations, to the rights of our crown, and the freedom of our navigation. If therefore we clearly assert, that *they have no such right*; that where we have *no trade* with them there can be *no prohibited goods*; that we have a liberty to sail *as nigh* to their coasts as the course of our voyage, the convenience of winds and tides, and other circumstances of navigation, may require; that, in pursuing that course, our ships *are not to be searched or stopped* on any account; that, *in cases of necessity*, they may even *enter their ports*, and that only in case of *trading there* they are to be seized; if we expressly assert *all this* in our treaty of peace, it may be a secure and lasting one, and deserves well the sanction of parliament.

But if we leave this *loose*, or if we admit of *any limits*, within which *a search may be made on any pretence*, we have yielded every thing, we have no security, all will be subject to dispute and chicanery; we shall have the same weary round to run, of applications to Madrid, references from thence to the West-Indies, and from the West-Indies to Madrid again; and, after the solemn hearing of our wrongs in parliament, after laying open all our wounds to the view of the world, after declarations of right, and lofty threats of resentment, after millions spent, we shall be in a worse condition, than we ever have been yet by any former treaty, or than we should have

have been, if we had taken no notice of the complaints of our merchants, and not moved in them at all.

As to the other point, *the cause* of all these injuries, I take it to have been the contempt this nation is fallen into, from what unhappily may have seemed to your enemies a despicable tameness and pusillanimity in our conduct. How far this has gone, I am ashamed to say. Those, who to insult us could not presume on their own strength, by long observing, or supposing they observed, a weakness in our councils, have come to suppose it in the nation itself: and on this presumption they became as arrogant, as they imagined England to be timid, and weak. They have certainly acted as if they thought we were *the meanest of nations*, or that *the meanest of ministers* had conducted our affairs. This prejudice therefore must be removed, or we shall continue to suffer, as much as we have done, and still more: for, where impunity is certain, insolence knows no bounds. If the peace we make does not retrieve our reputation, it is impossible it can last, for *it may be broke without fear*. Spain can have no reason to keep it, unless it is made on such terms, as to convince her that the temper, and spirit of our court is changed; and that we will bear no longer what we have borne so long. Should any article of it be *dishonourable* or *mean*, though all the rest were advantageous, that alone would be fatal, because it would leave us exposed to endless insults and affronts, the certain consequence of a stain imprinted on our national character. Reputation is to a people, just what credit is to a merchant. The first depends on an opinion of strength, as the latter does on an opinion of opulence. But that opinion of opulence is a real advantage, that opinion of strength is a real security. When a contrary notion prevails in

in the case of the merchant, when his credit is hurt, there comes a run upon him suddenly, and, by being thought insufficient, he becomes so in reality. The same thing may happen to a nation from the loss of character. An opinion of its weakness may encourage enemies, may unite them against it in a sudden attack, may dishearten its friends, and leave it destitute of succour. All which might have been prevented, had due care been taken to support the opinion of its strength by a spirited conduct. I hope attention will be had to this in our peace with Spain, and that we shall on no account yield to any thing *scandalous*, but seek reparation to our honour, as well as to our merchants. And I dare answer for *them*, that, great as their losses are, they had rather endure them without any compensation, than have it made in a way, that may be disgraceful to their country. Sure I am it would be better for *them* to lose their money, or for *us* to pay it out of our own pockets, than, for the sake of retribution to them, to admit of a treaty, in which the security of our commerce is not firmly established, beyond a possibility of all future cavils, by express declarations of our right *not to be searched*. For to admit of such a treaty, would be no less an absurdity than *to be bribed with our own money to our own undoing*.

In these plain lights, Sir, I hope you will consider this convention, when it shall be laid before you in the course of the session. You will not, I dare say, suffer yourself to be amused with nice distinctions, and refinements of policy. You will remember how useless, nay, how fatal, all these subtilties have hitherto proved, and what they are like to produce. You will desire to see a treaty, which shall not be *the beginning*, but *the end of negotiation*; which shall speak so plain, that every English country-gentleman, and every Spanish governor in the Indies, shall

shall understand the sense of it, as well as the *Walpoles*, and *La Quadras*.

You will not be satisfied with a present compliance, and temporary expedients, which are only patch-work, nor refer that to commissaries, which requires instant dispatch; nor suffer that to be argued which is incontestable; but demand a solid and a durable peace, founded on real security, and express acknowledgment of all those rights that have been questioned by Spain, either with regard to our commerce, or to our possessions. For nothing less than this will satisfy the nation.

And when this is done, you will consider of the methods, how to turn this peace to the best advantage, and secure it effectually for the time to come. The only way of doing that, Sir, is, to put the nation in a condition to be feared; and this can only be done, by reducing its debt, and gradually lessening its taxes.

It is a melancholy thought that so much time should have been lost from this necessary work, since it has been in our power. I believe it could be proved almost to a demonstration, that ever since the peace of Utrecht, we might have attended to it constantly, without the least interruption from our neighbours abroad, who had no desire to disturb us, till within these few years past, when, notwithstanding great compliances on our side, the hostilities of Spain have loudly called for our resentment. In all our quarrels during the late reign, though it can no more be doubted that *the interest of England* was the only point considered, than that Bremen and Verden were never thought of in them, yet how far *that interest* was rightly understood by us, is not quite so clear. To some it appears we had no grounds for quarrelling, no more than we had upon other occasions for negotiating; and that we might better have been quiet, if such active abilities, as some of our ministers were endowed

endowed with, could have been content to repose. But the entering lightly into wars, and alliances, in which we had no concern, or a very distant one at most, if it was the fault, was not the only fault of our government.

Those who cannot see into the depth of our policy, and the inscrutable wisdom of our councils, may be apt to think, that we have been no less faulty in our way of *managing peace*, in our neglect of using the advantages attending it, and in finding the secret by an unaccountable conduct, to make it *as expensive*, and *as ruinous* as war: that we have *purchased dishonour* at *as dear a rate*, as we did glory in some former reigns: that this hath continued, this hath fixed upon us the difficulties, which, with tolerable management, ought to have been conquered long ago: and that to this it is owing, not to King William, or Queen Anne, if we are a distressed and a declining nation. Had it not been for this, say they, we have had leisure enough to pay off great part of our debt, and to encrease the sinking fund to such an annual sum, as would enable the government to maintain our dignity, without wasting our substance. Had *that* been done, we had been now *a mighty* people, easy at home, and formidable abroad. And though we had no disputes with Spain, yet, on other accounts, it would be highly desirable for us to be *in those circumstances*, rather than in a state of indigence, which must be a state of fear. For though by reason of some lucky circumstances at this juncture we have no cause to apprehend any instant danger from France, those, who look forwards at all, have very dreadful apprehensions. The Empire is already open to her by Alsace, and Loraine, and there has been a terrible alarm, that it may soon be so by Luxembourg. The weakness of the Low Countries is apparent to every body; and God knows how soon they may be made a sacrifice either to *the*
F *friendship,*

friendship, or the arms of France. If the power of that crown in former times had equalled its ambition, Europe had been lost; if its ambition now shall equal its power, it will probably accomplish what it then designed. And bad is our condition, when our fate is to depend on a spirit of conquest not prevailing in that court.

They have wisely been doing what we ought to have done. They have, by œconomy, by attention to trade, by easing their people, and husbanding well the money they raise, laid such foundations for their future greatness, that if an enterprising minister should succeed to *this*, he will find advantages, which his greatest predecessors, Richlieu, Mazarin, Colbert, Louvois, never had, and will have reason to expect a much more glorious success. What may then be the circumstances of that kingdom, and *this*? On one side mortgaged revenues, credit sunk at home and abroad, an exhausted, dispirited, discontented people: on the other, a rich and popular government, strong in alliances, in reputation, in the confidence and affection of its subjects. Will the contest be equal between *these two powers*? and what an aggravation is it to the pain of this thought, to reflect how easily we might have been in a condition, to save ourselves and Europe from this danger and fear; if, for these twelve years past, (to go no higher) our debt had decreased, in proportion to the means that have been in our hands, and no greater expence had been incurred by the * government, than

* *N. B.* Had the sinking fund been duly applied since the year 1727 to the payment of the national debt, at least twelve millions might have been paid off: the sinking fund would then produce at 4 *per cent.* little less than two millions, and (were interest reduced to 3 *per cent.*) considerably more. Upon such a bottom as this, we might well maintain a new French war.

than the real necessity of affairs required! We might then have spoke to France with as much authority, as becomes this nation in the common cause, especially if we had taken any care at the same time to set ourselves at the head of the Protestant interest, which is our natural post; and has on former occasions given great advantages as well as lustre to the crown of England. Had we pursued these measures, we should now have nothing to dread; by pursuing them steadily we may yet be safe, we may yet be considerable, we may yet hold the balance of Europe. But till a wiser administration shall restore our affairs, little dignity, or vigour, is to be expected in our councils. Some *appearance of vigour* may perhaps be maintained; but it will impose on nobody; no, *not on ourselves*. To think that keeping up, at a vast expence, great fleets and armies, with a resolution not to employ them, can secure our reputation, is as gross a mistake, as if, in private life, a gentleman known to be in debt, and not disposed to clear himself, should think to cheat his creditors, and support his credit, by encreasing his equipage, making sumptuous entertainments, and beggaring his family with new debts and mortgages.

It is scarce to be computed what it has cost this nation *in well-equipt* fleets, and *well-drest* troops, for some years past; and I should be glad to be told (bating the fineness of the show) what use they have been of to us either at home or abroad. They give, to be sure, an air of magnificence; but then it is well known, that we owe almost fifty millions, and have been forced to apply the sinking fund, not to discharge that debt, but *to furnish out these shows*.

In most parts of England gentlemens rents are so ill paid, and the weight of taxes lies so heavy upon them, that those who have nothing from the court can scarce support their families; and those in place are hardly savers on the account, if what they give

be balanced against what they receive. There are indeed some rich people who have money in the funds; and out of tenderness to *them* I suppose it was, that when interest was naturally, and apparently fallen to three *per cent.* the national debt was still continued at four, by which the publick has lost millions, and such an opportunity, as it may not again be in our power to retrieve.

Yet if peace should be settled on a durable foot, I hope *the worthy gentleman*, who, two years ago, proposed the reduction of interest, will renew his motion; and that it will not be *mended* so as to be made *less eligible*, and then objected to, and *thrown out by the amenders*. I hope too care will be taken, that, when the scheme shall have its effect, reduction of interest *and taxes* shall go hand in hand; and that the sinking fund so encreased shall not be left at the disposition of a minister, but applied in part to take off some of the duties, which are such a load on industry, and so dangerous to freedom.

All these particulars, Sir, deserve your serious attention. We expect to find we have *a peace*, not by his majesty's speech alone, and the congratulatory compliments of both houses of parliament (which during all our late sufferings, and the hostilities of Spain, have been annually made with great encomiums on his measures) but by *the fruits of peace*, a considerable lessening of our expences, and relief to the people at whose charge it was gained.

We may yet recover, low as we are, with good management. To make *a great state little*, is not so difficult indeed, as to make *a little one great*; yet it is not to be done immediately; and with all the skill *some* have shewn in endeavouring it here, it will require still more time to sink us so, as that, *with the help of friends*, we may not rise again. The natural
strength

strength of this nation is great, its resources great, and in one respect greater than ever, because, the funds *having been tried*, and found *sufficient*, the borrowing on them again, when our debt is reduced, would be secure and easy. To reduce it therefore ought to be the principal object of all who meddle with our public affairs. We shall judge of all your other virtues now by your frugality. The best œconomist for the public will be the best member of parliament, the best counsellor of state, and the best minister. I do not know how it has happened, but for some time past, an ignorant country-gentleman might be almost provoked to say, that our *flegm* has shewn itself only in *bearing affronts*, and our *spirit* only in *squandering away the public money*. I suppose we shall now have no occasion to shew our fire, but we shall have great occasion for a reserved and cautious temper. Let this operate in the granting of money, in a constant refusing of new powers to the crown, and watching over the use of those already granted. Above all, beware of new additions to the civil list. It is a strange circumstance, and will not sound well to posterity, that while the publick loses in so many articles, so many gains have been of late made to the crown: that when every gentleman's estate is falling in value, the estate of the crown should be so much encreased, that if we were to purchase it back with fifty thousand pounds *per ann. more than it was given for*, we should save by the bargain. I will just take notice how great profits have accrued to the civil list upon the gin-bill only. All that had been gained by the highest amount of the duties on spirits, that is, by the highest excess of the evil designed to be reformed, was made up to his majesty out of the aggregate fund, by way of compensation for the loss he should sustain *upon saving the lives of many thousands of his subjects*. At the same time all he might gain by the encrease of the brewery, and by that of
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the wine licence duty, (which together cannot be *less*, and ought to be reckoned at *more* than an equal proportion to the decrease on the spirits *) is, by the bounty of this act, preserved to him entire, and without account. So that *the preventing a national mischief*, of so destructive a nature, that, rather than suffer it to continue, the legislature was forced to ruin many particulars, and grievously hurt our sugar colonies, hath (*no doubt to the comfort of the sufferers*) been so happily managed, that it may prove an advantage to the civil list of seventy thousand pounds a year, and probably more. I would only observe, that if our other popular vices could be turned as much to account as the drinking of spirits hath been, the estate of the king of England would be more a gainer *by the sins of the people*, than the exchequer of the pope.

But there is another article I must not pass over in silence, because it may probably come before the house this session ; and that is, that his majesty has been, and still is, in possession of 50,000 *l. per ann.* which most people think was designed by parliament for the prince of Wales, over and above the fifty which he now enjoys. It seems evident to me by all I have heard, and read upon this subject, that the parliament which gave the civil list could not intend, that his majesty should retain for himself any part of this hundred thousand pounds a year ; since supposing the prince to have *it all*, and allowing his majesty to spend one hundred thousand pounds a year extraordinary in *pensions, bounties, secret-service money, &c.* he will still have, for the support of his household, a revenue equal to that of the late king. The expence of his family has been *unhappily* lessened, since the consideration of
this

* N. B. The share of the civil list upon foreign spirits is about $\frac{2}{9}$; upon home spirits about $\frac{1}{3}$; upon beer and ale about $\frac{1}{2}$.

this matter in parliament, by no less a saving than *the whole sum in dispute*; and as for the charge which remains, it will be abundantly supplied out of so large an income as six hundred thousand pounds a year, with the great additional profits arising from the gin bill, crown land, plantation rents, and other articles commonly known by the name of *licks*, &c. So that if the prince hath not the fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, which I apprehend he has a right to from the intention of parliament out of the seven hundred and fifty thousand enjoyed by his majesty, (exclusive of the profits on the articles above-mentioned) if, I say, this be not given to him, upon the birth of two children, and the hopes of a third, it certainly ought *to be returned to the public*. If his royal highness hath it, it will indeed be *lost to the public*; it is like to circulate freely, and the poor will have their share of it; but as I am arguing now upon a principle of *saving*, I must needs say, *the nation wants it*, and the royal family *all together has enough*. Let the wealth of our princes always encrease with that of their people: let them share the fruits of every publick blessing, of every benefit derived to us from their government: but to have *them rich*, while *we are poor*, is, methinks, both an indecency, and a weakening of one strong motive to them for governing with a constant regard to the prosperity of their subjects.

Sir, from what I have said to recommend œconomy, I would not have you imagine any argument can be drawn, to defend a bad and dishonourable peace, should it appear that such a one has been made with Spain. To make all proper savings is the duty of our ministers; but an acquiescence under wrongs and insults is not œconomy: an acquiescence that may cost us millions is not œconomy: an acquiescence that may ruin our trade, the only source of our riches, is not œconomy: it is not œconomy to neglect an opportunity of doing ourselves justice at a
cheaper

cheaper rate, than we can hope to obtain it for in any future conjuncture. It can never be admitted, that because peace is *cheaper* than war, and because it is good to save money, therefore *any terms* of peace are to be gladly received rather than to make war *with any advantages*: and I shall less admit it *here*, because we have already borne an expence, which, if rightly managed, might have been sufficient to have procured us victory, and the fruit of victory, peace.

Sir, there is another way of reasoning, similar to this, which I foresee, and which beforehand I beg leave to warn you against, That because we ought to have great apprehensions of the growing power of France, if we go on ourselves as we have done of late, and suffer *them* to go on to take advantage of our conduct, therefore we are to submit to all the injustice of Spain, and give up the rights we are most concerned to support, for fear that France should declare against us in the war.

I have said before, it seems highly improbable, *that court* should engage in such a measure, *at this time*, from the present state of their government, and the unsettled condition, which any change might put it into for some years to come. But supposing the worst that it is possible to suppose, supposing we knew that France would side against us with Spain, even in that case I think it is reasoning wrong, it is reasoning with regard to the present day alone, to make *that* an argument for accepting a peace upon disadvantageous and dishonourable terms. For if we are really fallen into such a state, that when any power in Europe shall think fit to insult and injure us, and we take up arms to defend ourselves, France will interpose, and without any regard to her alliance, and the justice of our cause, *insist on our giving up our rights*, or else declare herself *our enemy*; if this is our situation, it is *an extremity*, which we must *fight ourselves out of as well*, and *as soon as we can*. For what
can

can we expect by delaying it longer, but to draw on farther insults, farther wrongs, farther contempt; to be treated on all occasions *as a province to France*: to be daily weakened more and more by the incroachments of all our neighbours upon every branch of our trade; and to be at last devoured without the means of resistance, when all our friends *are ashamed of us*, and when a long *state of dependency* shall have sunk our courage, and prepared our minds, to endure the infamy of *a foreign yoke*? But we have the strongest grounds to think that our affairs are not so desperate. France is no party concerned in this dispute with Spain; and the present genius of that court is, not to engage without necessity, in any quarrel that must cost her a war. She may perhaps desire to mediate, and to mediate partially; but it is in the power of England to refuse that mediation: she may speak in an unfriendly, or perhaps an angry style; but we have profited little by a great deal of experience, if we have not learnt, that there is a wide distance *between talking angrily, and declaring war*. It seems evident upon the whole, that what we ought to apprehend, is not an immediate, but a future danger from France; and the care of the legislature should extend to *that*, not by approving a peace which may deserve to be censured, but by attending to things, which, either in war or peace, are of extreme importance to the strength of the kingdom, and therefore demand particularly the inspection of parliament.

Such is the state of *our manufactures*, such is that of *our colonies*; both should be enquired into, that the nation may know, whether the *former* can support themselves much longer under the various pressures that affect our manufacturers; and how is it possible that *the latter* should decline, when if it had not been *for a false report of his death*, Sir O——o
B——n

B——n might have *governed one of them*; and so many gentlemen of *no less fortune and character* have been frequently sent *to take care of the rest*?

The state of *our garrisons* abroad too may deserve to be considered, and whether the absolute power, lodged in some of *our governors there*, has been *discreetly, moderately, and humanely* exercised, to the honour of his majesty's commission, and of the English name.

Sir, what I would farther submit to your attention is, whether some *new powers* have not been assumed by the crown, or old ones *stretcht* beyond their legal bounds, by the construction of ministers, and the acquiescence, or perhaps the authority of the judges themselves. This is most likely to happen with regard to criminal prosecutions, and many instances of it have been complained of formerly, and fallen under the notice and the censure of parliament. No longer ago than last year there was a loud complaint of a power assumed and exercised by the secretaries of state against all law, and particularly against *that most sacred law* the habeas corpus act; I mean the demanding security for their good behaviour, from persons examined before them on suspicion of writing, printing, or publishing libels against the government.

This having been exercised for the most part upon low and inconsiderable people, who had neither spirit nor strength enough to support their right, it had passed unquestioned many years together, till Mr. Franklin was advised not to comply with that demand, but to insist on giving bail for his appearance only. Upon this the matter was brought by habeas corpus before my lord chief justice Raymond, who decided it *in his favour*, for he admitted him to bail without any security for his good behaviour. Notwithstanding which the same practice continued in the

the secretary's office, and passed *sub silentio*, till last year Mr. Amhurst brought it into publick discourse.

Though the circumstances of this fact are pretty well known, yet as they are of a weighty and grievous nature, I will remind you of them by a short recital of all such particulars as are come to my knowledge. Some time after Christmas 1737, Mr. Amhurst, hearing that a warrant from the Duke of Newcastle was out against him, surrendered himself to a messenger, and was carried before his grace to be examined. The crime imputed to him was, that *he was suspected* to be author of a paper *suspected* to be a libel. As no proofs were alledged against him, no witnesses produced, an examination of this kind could not last long. As soon as it was over, he was told, that the crime being bailable, he should be bailed upon finding sufficient sureties to answer for his appearance, and trial; and gave bail for his appearance, but the other terms imposed upon him he absolutely refused. Upon that refusal he was remanded back to custody, and the next day brought his habeas corpus, and was then set at liberty by consent, till the twelve judges should determine the question, whether he was obliged to give bail for his good behaviour, as well as for his appearance, before he was entitled to his liberty.

As this determination would have been the most important to the liberty of every man in England, that perhaps the judges ever gave, it was impatiently expected, and desired by the publick. Several days were fixed for hearing counsel on both sides; but they were never heard, and the question remains still undetermined.

A question of no less consequence, than whether ignominy and punishment (for *such* the being bound to good behaviour is by the law supposed to be) shall be inflicted on a freeman *before any trial*, and *without his being charged upon oath*, even of suspicion of guilt:

guilt : a question of no less consequence, than whether any man in the kingdom, whom the court are pleased to suspect of writing a libel, shall by frequent successive commitments upon other suspicions, with no proof at all, be either constantly imprisoned, from not being able to find security for his good behaviour, so often as it is asked, which may be every week ; or be exposed to forfeit many bails at once, to the value possibly of ten thousand pounds *, for a single breach of the peace, which in another circumstance, he could not be fined ten shillings for, by any court in England.

A question of no less consequence, than whether the habeas corpus act shall be the rule of proceedings in all cases bailable ; or whether it shall be in the power of every justice of the peace to add *new terms* to it, and make *new exceptions* to the advantages given by that act to the subject ; that is, whether *they* should do what all the judges in England would deserve to be impeached for if they did, and what the parliament itself ought no more to do, than to repeal, or alter MAGNA CHARTA.

A question of no less consequence, than whether we should lose the entire benefit of the liberty of the press, which secures and strengthens all our other liberties : since upon suspicion only of a book or paper being libellous, any man suspected to be concerned in it, may be put under the load of finding security for his good behaviour, which is such a vexation, and such a distress, that it is commonly part, and a heavy part, of the sentence upon *convicted criminals*, in all but capital causes : since this is in the power of
every

* N. B. While a man is bound to his good behaviour, if he should chance to commit any common act of natural frailty or passion, get drunk, for instance, or return a blow, he would be liable to forfeit his securities.

every justice of peace * ; and since, by consequence, no man can be safe who publishes a book, how innocent soever it may be, without *as many licensors*, as there are *Middlesex justices*.

Why this question was not decided at that time, why it remains still undetermined, I cannot tell. If there is no intention to revive the practice which occasioned the dispute, I am surprized and sorry, that the terror of it is suffered to hang over us still, and that the opinion of all mankind concerning it has not yet received the sanction of a judicial determination, or the declaration of parliament.

From my good opinion of the present judges, I hope and believe, that if *they* decide it, we have nothing to fear. They know the danger, and detest the iniquity, of adding restrictions of their own to laws declaratory of liberty. They know that parliaments have often resented such proceedings ; that they have been productive of the greatest mischiefs, the greatest disorders, and convulsions in the state : that the arbitrary interpretation of our laws in Westminster-hall has been more than once the cause of civil war, the dissolution of our government, and the destruction of our kings. They will therefore decide, not as former judges have done, who held their places at the mercy of the crown, but as men, who *deserve* the places, which, without a crime, *they cannot lose*.

Yet if this decision should be longer delayed, it will be highly proper, that the sense of parliament be taken upon it, and that we should know to what we may trust. For so long as this is in doubt, so long the noblest privileges, that Englishmen enjoy beyond
all

* The law knows of no power in a secretary of state, in this respect, which is not equally lodged in every justice of peace.

all other nations, are left in uncertainty, and may be thought in danger.

And if the consideration of this shall come before the legislature, they will be naturally led at the same time to consider, if there are not grievous inconveniencies that attend the trial of criminal causes by *special juries*; and whether most of the provisions made by the act of 3 George II. should not be extended to them. By the several regulations in that act for the return and ballotting of common juries in civil causes, the property tried in small actions is pretty strongly guarded: but it is very extraordinary, that no provision of that kind has been made, where the question to be tried is of the highest consequence. It is very well known, that even in civil causes, few above the value of an hundred pounds are tried without a special jury, to which this act does not extend.

Now I can see no reason for these regulations with regard to the property tried by common juries, which does not hold much stronger for extending the care of parliament to the regulating special juries also. The small value of the causes tried by the former makes it highly improbable, that either of the parties should attempt to influence the sheriff to make a partial return, since the gain would no way equal the hazard. The same reason too will prevent an interested jurymen, supposing such a one was returned, from giving a verdict contrary to evidence, and per-juring himself in the sight of his country, for so inconsiderable an advantage to the party he favours. And that crimes will be more or less frequent in proportion to the temptation to commit them, must be allowed.

In criminal cases, this is still more dangerous, because the power of the crown may be exerted in the prosecution, and the question to be tried is the imprisonment and punishment of a freeman. If the master of the crown-office, or his deputy, should be
ever

ever under any influence, he may * name twelve of the defendant's friends to cover his purpose, and thirty-six of those who are most prejudiced against him upon reasons of party, or other causes, if he can find so many in the county; and as the solicitor for the crown would strike off the former, the defendant must be tried from a jury among the latter. It is true that officer is *sworn*, but so is the sheriff in returning common juries, and it is just as likely that the one should *name* partially, as the other *return* *partially*.

But there seems to be less reason for allowing of special juries to be struck by the master of the crown-office, or by any other officer, upon informations, or indictments for crimes committed in London or Westminster (which is the case of most of the crown prosecutions upon libels, &c. for very few arise in any other county), because the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, being annual and elective officers, are less liable to suspicion of influence, and by consequence, the most impartial officers between the crown and the subject.

The usual argument in support of special juries is, that it is sometimes necessary for a cause to be considered by persons of a higher rank and better education than common freeholders, and that they are never used in a capital case.

As to the first, admitting the reason to be right, why may not special juries be ballotted for out of a number of freeholders, *possess of estates to such a value,* and

* The rule of striking special juries is, that the sheriff of the county do attend the master of the crown-office with the freeholders books, out of which he is to name forty-eight in presence of each party, who by their attornies or solicitors shall strike off twelve a-piece.

and the lists be made in the same manner as is directed by the jury-act with regard to common juries?

And as to the second part of the argument, that special juries are not used in capital cases, that, at best, is but to say, that the practice is *not a bad one*, because *it might be worse*; and that, because the life of the subject is safe, therefore his liberty is not worth consideration. Sir, I think it is evident, this practice is such as requires a new law, no less than the abuses and corruptions, recited in the preamble to the jury-act, required the regulations thereby made for special juries; nay, that without they are extended to common juries, that law is of less utility, than the parliament, which made it, hoped and designed. It was certainly *well-intended*, and I presume the present parliament, when they see the defects of it, will not have less zeal for *the principle* it goes upon, than their predecessors.

But when this method of trial shall be better regulated, I hope it will be also considered by the legislature, whether it be not advisable to *take another quite away*, I mean *informations* in the king's-bench for *criminal causes*:

Because, by this method, the subject loses one great benefit, he is by law entitled to, that of a *grand jury*:

Because, though in cases between subject and subject, it is in the power of the court to refuse an information, if the defendant shew cause; yet in crown-prosecutions, of which the legislature ought to be most jealous, the attorney-general, by his own authority, files an information, which the court cannot refuse:

Because, though it comes out to be ever so groundless a charge, the crown pays no costs, and the defendant may be undone by the expence:

Because

Because the act restraining subjects from this method of prosecution, *with regard to each other*, without leave of the court after hearing both sides, and some farther cautions, is a strong proof that the parliament thought it a dangerous and oppressive course, which they ought to discourage: but between subjects and *the crown* the danger surely is much greater, there being more room for oppression, and the penalties on conviction more severe.

Because there is reason to think, that when the star chamber was abolished, the parliament meant to condemn the methods of trial used in that court, and did not imagine they would rise again in the king's bench, upon pretence, that they had been *antiently*, though *very rarely* practised *there*; and that all the powers the star chamber claimed from common law did, by the abolition of that court, devolve on the king's bench:

Because, in all cases, *criminal*, the crown has another way of proceeding *equally easy to the king*, and much more safe to the subject, *viz. the method of indictment*: and because the retaining *that*, which may be made oppressive, when *there is no occasion for it*, is no honour to the crown, and no advantage *but against the innocent*.

In answer to all this it will, I know, be said, that this is an ancient power vested by law in the crown; that it is invading the prerogative to attempt to take it away; and that we ought to preserve the constitution unchanged. To which I reply, that the antiquity of this power is no defence of it, if it be unfit to remain, since others as antient have been taken away: that the prerogative of the king is no more sacred than the liberty of the subject: that *this* has been abridged in several instances of late, particularly the riot act, on a supposition, that the restraint was necessary for the public good; and the same reasoning will hold with regard to a power in the crown,

G

the

the exercise of which is supposed to be dangerous to the publick.

As to the expediency and duty of preserving the constitution *unchanged*, it is no doubt in general a right maxim. But does not every *new power given* to the crown *change* the constitution, as much as an old power *taken away*?

In the balance of our government is the scale of the crown to be always *filling*, and that of the people always emptying?

Is there no danger to the state, but from the *abuse of liberty*, which is daily the argument for coercive laws, enforced with heavy penalties, and unknown to our ancestors? May there not also be danger *from the abuse of prerogative*, especially in prosecutions carried on by the crown, where passion may mix itself, and where influence may prevail? And is it not as worthy of a parliament to provide a remedy against one of these dangers, as against the other?

We are told by a great man, by my lord Bacon, in his life of Henry VII. that when that prince had drawn great sums of money by taxes, and other impositions from his people, he used *to remunerate them* by good and wholesome laws, beneficial to liberty, and of a popular nature, which, as his lordship observes, *were evermore his retribution for treasure*. And the best retribution it was that could be made, the most effectual for relief, and the most capable of stopping complaints and healing discontents. This honour indeed did not belong to him alone; part of it ought to be imputed to his parliaments; though parliaments in those days were not so independent as, I hope, they are now, but were a good deal influenced by the power of the crown and the will of the king in directing their proceedings. But they both together had this merit to the nation, that what they took in subsidies, they paid again in laws.

It

It is the misfortune, (I would not say the fault) of the present times, to have laid most heavy burdens, such as were even unknown to the days of Henry the Seventh, with unintermitting severity, on the people of these kingdoms. In this parliaments and kings have long concurred, not without great discontent on the side of those at whose expence it was done, and who have not always been so much convinced of *the necessity*. But as for retribution, except that retribution which consists in *salaries* and *pensions* paid by the crown, to the happy few, who are the objects of its favour, I am afraid little of this will be found to have been given, in the sense the word is used by my lord Bacon, to make the people amends for the hardships they sustain. New penal laws and new powers to the crown have for these twenty years past been almost the only presents made by the legislature to us and our posterity, in return for above one hundred millions raised upon the publick, in all the various shapes from the land tax down to turnpikes.

But it is full time to think of *other retributions*: the nation requires it from your hands, requires you to strengthen, to enlarge the basis upon which their rights are fixed, and if there any rotten parts in that great fabrick, to take them away, lest they endanger the whole. Much of this was done at the renovation of our government by the late happy Revolution, but not all. Some defects were left through inattention or other causes, which it may be the glory of his majesty's reign and of this parliament by their united wisdom and goodness to remove. This will conciliate to both the affections of the people, and do more, much more, towards securing the government, than *an army could of an hundred thousand men*. We hear much of disaffection; this would crush it at once: it would unite the friends of the establishment, and confound its enemies;

it would shew the cause we support to be *the cause of liberty*.

Sir, I have now laid before you, with great plainness and sincerity, what I believe the nation asks of its representatives. I am one unpractised in writing, and that understand no rhetorick, but what owes its prevalence to the single force of truth: and least of all do I understand the method of arguing, which want of genius in writers, and meanness of spirit in their pay-masters, have made so common in political disputes, attacking *private characters*, and turning a national question into *personal* altercations and abusive *lies*. I am so much unknown, that I believe myself very secure from this sort of answer being made me on account of this letter. If any other suffers in my stead (as these hired *assassins* are apt to mistake their object in the dark) I shall recommend to him, what I would practise myself in that case, *silence and contempt*. As to the facts and reasonings laid down here, if they are controverted, I am ready to support them against any attack which comes from a better hand than ordinary, and has common sense in it. I am quite a stranger to the persons of our ministers, I know them only by the effects of their conduct, and neither *they* nor *their successors* can please or offend me, but as my country gains or suffers by their power. And I pity those, if there are any such, who think *the removing an ill minister* is a point of consequence, if with them *the maxims* and *the measures* of his government, how strongly soever established, are not also *expelled*.

I shall only add to what I have said, that, unless something be done by *this parliament*, to give new vigour to our liberties, stop the torrent of corruption, and revive the principles, and the spirit of our fathers, we have less to hope, than to apprehend from *those to come*. The time, I doubt, is not far off, when by the encrease of influence, there may be such difficulties upon country gentlemen to oppose

pose the court in elections, and such a despondency, such a dispiritedness on the minds of all, except the favourites of power, that no struggle could be expected, no opposition at all to the nomination of the crown. A kind of *congé d'elire* might be sent down into the country, and directed *to our trusty and well-beloved officers of the customs, excise, and army*, in all the towns and boroughs of England, Scotland, Wales, and the dutchy of Cornwall. Suitable returns would be made: but, Sir, *this would not be a parliament.*

May that Providence, which hath saved us so often, when we could not, or would not save ourselves, preserve us now! may his majesty's *gracious dispositions* operate in our favour, and remove the clouds that have been spread so thick about him, to prevent his seeing both our interest, and *his own!*

May an alteration of measures be the aim, the effect, and *the reward* of opposition! may the public good be the object, the bound, and the security of power! may the *royal family*, may all parties, may the nation unite in affection, and be divided no more! may all who obstruct this union for vile ends of their own, be *the victims of it*, and suffer what they deserve! may all who desire it, *understand, assist, and strengthen one another!*

I am, Sir, &c.

For the proof of what is advanced in the first part of this Letter, it may not be improper to recite some articles of our treaties with Spain and France, that regard America.

Imo.

The Treaty of 1667 between ENGLAND and SPAIN.

A R T. VIII.

— And for what may concern both the Indies, and any other parts whatsoever, the King of Spain
doth

doth grant to the King of Great Britain and his subjects, all that is granted to the United States of the Low Countries and their subjects, in their treaty of Munster 1648, point for point, in as full and ample a manner as if the same were herein particularly inserted, the same rules being to be observed whereunto the subjects of the said United States are obliged, and mutual offices and friendship to be performed from one side to the other.

The articles referred to are,
A R T. V.

La navigation et trafique des Indes Orientales et Occidentales sera maintenuë selon et en conformité des octroys sur ce donnés, ou a donner ci-aprés ; pour seureté de quoy servira le present traité et la ratification d'iceluy, qui de part et d'autre en sera procurée : et seront compris sous le dit traité tous potentats, nations et peuples, avec lesquels lesdits Seigneurs Estats, ou ceux de la société des Indes Orientales et Occidentales en leur nom, entre les limites de leursdits octroys sont en amitié et alliance ; et un chacun, sçavoir les susdits Seigneurs Roy et Estats respectivement demeureront en possession et jouiront de telles seigneurs, villes, chasteaux, forteresses, commerce et pays en Indes Orientales & Occidentales, comme aussi au Brasil et sur les costes d'Asie, Afrique, et Amerique respectivement, que lesdits Seigneurs Roy et Estats respectivement tiennent et possèdent, en ce compris spécialement les lieux et places que les Portugais depuis l'an mil six cent quarante et un, ont pris et occupé sur lesdits Seigneurs Estats ; compris aussi les lieux et places qu'iceux Seigneurs Estats cy-aprés, sans infraction du present traité viendront a conquérir et posséder ; et les directeurs de la société des Indes tant Orientales que Occidentales des Provinces-Unies, comme aussi les ministres, officiers hauts & bas, soldats et matelots, estans en service
actuel

actuel de l'une ou de l'autre desdites compagnies, ou ayans esté en leur service, comme aussi ceux qui hors leur service respectivement, tant en ce pays, qu'au district desdites deux compagnies, continuent encore, ou pourront cy-après estre employés, seront et demeureront libres et sans estre molestez en tous les pays estans sous l'obeïssance dudit Seigneur Roy en l'Europe, pourront voyager, trafiquer et frequenter, comme tous autres habitans des pays desdits Seigneurs Estats. En oustre a esté conditionné et stipulé, que les Espagnols retiendront leur navigation en telle maniere, qu'ils la tiennent pour le present en Indes Orientales, sans se pouvoir estendre plus avant, comme aussi les habitans de ce Pays-Bas s'abstiendront de la frequentation des places que les Castillans ont en Indes Orientales.

A R T. VI.

Et quant aux Indes Occidentales, les sujets et habitans des royaumes, provinces et terres desdits Seigneurs Roy et Estats respectivement s'abstiendront de naviger et trafiquer en tous les havres, lieux et places garnies de forts, loges, ou chasteaux, et toutes autres possédées par l'une ou l'autre partie; scavoir que les sujets dudit Seigneur Roy ne navigeront et trafiqueront en celles tenuës par lesdits Seigneurs Estats, ny les sujets desdits Seigneurs Estats en celles tenuës par ledit Seigneur Roy, et entre les places tenuës par lesdits Seigneurs Estats, seront comprises les places que les Portugais, depuis l'an mil six cent quarante et un ont occupé dans le Brasil sur lesdits Seigneurs Estats, comme aussi toutes autres places qu'ils possèdent à present tandis qu'elles demeureront auxdits Portugais; sans que le precedent article puisse derogier au contenu du present.

II^{do}.

The Treaty of 1670 between ENGLAND and SPAIN,
commonly called the American Treaty*.

A R T. III.

Item uti in futurum omnes inimicitiae, hostilitates et discordiae inter praedictos Dominos Reges, eorumque subditos, et incolas cessent, et aboleantur: et utraque pars ab omni direptione, deprædatione, læsione, injuriisque ac infestatione qualicunque tam terra quam mari, et aquis dulcibus ubivis gentium temperet prorsus, et abstineat.

A R T. VII.

—Conventum præterea est quod serenissimus Magnæ Britanniae Rex, heredes et successores ejus cum plenario jure summi imperii, proprietatis et possessionis, terras omnes, regiones, insulas, colonias ac dominia in Occidentali India aut quavis parte Americae sita habebunt, tenebunt et possidebunt in perpetuum, quaecunque dictus Magnæ Britanniae Rex, et subditi ejus impræsentiarum tenent, ac possident, ita ut eo nomine, aut quacunque sub prætensione nihil unquam amplius urgeri, nihilque controversiarum in posterum moveri possit, aut debeat.

A R T. VIII.

Subditi, et incolæ, mercatores, navarchæ, nauticuli, nautæ, regnorum, provinciarum, terrarumque utriusque Regis respectivè abstinebunt, cavebuntque sibi à commerciis, et navigatione in portus, ac loca fortalitiis, stabulis mercimoniorum, vel castellis instructa, aliaque omnia quæ ab una, vel ab altera parte occupantur in Occidentali India; nimirum
Regis

* This treaty confirms by its first article that of 1667, and both are particularly confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht.

Regis Magnæ Britanniae subditi negotiationem non dirigent, navigationem non instituent, mercaturam non facient in portibus, locisvè, quæ rex catholicus in dicta India tenet; neque vicissim Regis Hispaniarum subditi in ea loca navigationes instituent, aut commercia exercebunt, quæ ibidem à Rege Magnæ Britanniae possidentur.

A R T. IX.

Si verò tractu temporis visum fuerit alterutri Regum licentiam aliquam generalem, vel specialem, aut privilegia concedere alterius subditis navigationem instituendi, et commercium habendi in quibusvis locis suæ ditionis, qui dictas licentias, et privilegia concesserit, dicta navigatio, et commercium exercebuntur et manu tenebuntur juxta et secundum formam, tenorem, et affectum permissionum, aut privilegiorum, quæ indulgeri poterint, quorum securitati præsens tractatus, ejusdemque ratihabitio inserviet.

A R T. X.

Item concordatum est, quod si alterutrius confœderatorum subditi, et incolæ cum navibus suis, siue bellicæ sint, et publicæ; siue onerariæ ac privatæ, procellis abrepti fuerint, vel persequentibus piratis inimicis ac hostibus, aut alio quovis incommodo cogantur se ad portum quærendum in alterius fœderati flumina, sinus, æstuaria, ac stationes recipere, vel ad littora quæcunque in America appellere, benignè, omnique humanitate ibidem excipiantur, amica gaudeant protectione & benevolentia tractentur. Nullo autem modo impediantur, quò minus integrum omninò habeant reficere se, victualia etiam & omne genus com meatum, siue vitæ sustinendæ, siue navibus reparandis, & itineri faciendo necessarium, æquo & consueto pretio comparare. Nulla quoque ratione prohibeantur ex portu, & statione vicissim solvere, ac egredi, quin ipsis licitum sit, prohibito migrare loco, libereque discedere quandocunque,

que, & quocunque visum fuerit, absque ulla molestatione, aut impedimento.

A R T. XI.

Pari ratione si naves alterutrius confœderati, ejusdemque subditorum, ac incolarum ad oras, aut in ditionibus quibuscunque alterius impegerint, jactum facerint, vel (quod Deus avertat) naufragium, aut damnum quodcunque passæ fuerint, ejectos, aut detrimenta passos, in vincula, aut servitutem abducere nefas esto, quin periclitantibus, aut naufragis benevolè, ac amicissimè subveniat, atque auxilium feratur, literæque illis salvi conductus exhibeantur, quibus inde tutò, & absque molestia exire, & ad suam quisque patriam redire valeat.

A R T. XII.

Quando autem alterutrius naves (uti supradictum est) maris periculo, aliave cogente ratione compulsæ, in alterius portus adigantur, si tres, quatuorve fuerint, justamque suspicionis occasionem præbere poterint adventus istiusmodi causa, gubernatori, vel primario loci magistratui, statim exponetur, nec diutius ibi mora trahetur, quam quæ illis à dicto gubernatore aut præfecto permessa, & victui comparando, navibusque tum refarciendis, tum instruendis commoda, atque æqua fuerit, cautum vero semper erit, ut onus non distrahant, neque mercium aut sarcinarum aliquid è navibus efferant, & venum exponant, nec etiam mercimonia ab altera parte it. Naves receperint, aut quicquam egerint contra hoc fœdus.

A R T. XV.

Præsens tractatus nihil derogabit præeminentiæ, juri ac dominio cuicunque alterutrius confœderatorum in maribus Americanis, fretis, atque aquis quibuscunque, sed habeant, retineantque sibi eadem pari amplitudine, quæ illis jure competit; intellectum autem semper esto libertatem navigandi neuti-
quam interrumpi debere, modo nihil adversus ge-
nuinum

MEMBER OF PARLIAM

nuinum horum articulorum sensum
peccetur.

III^o.

The Treaty of 1686, betw
FRANC

A R T.

Et que pour cet effet l
chands, capitaines de vais
de royaumes, provinces e
Roys respectivement, ne f
pesche dans tous les lieux
en possession de part et
C'est à scavoir, que les
Chrétienne ne se messeron
aucun commerce, et ne pescheron
ports, rivières, bayes, embouchures
costes, ou autres lieux qui sont ou
possédez par sa Majesté Britannique
et reciproquement les sujets de sa Majesté
ne se messeront d'aucun trafic, ne feront
merce, et ne pescheront point dans les ports,
bayes, embouchures de rivières, rades, co
autres lieux qui sont ou seront ci-après possédez par
sa Majesté très Chrétienne en Amérique. Et au cas
qu'aucun vaisseau, ou barque soit surpris faisant tra-
fic, ou peschant, contre ce qui est porté par le pre-
sent traité, ledit vaisseau, ou *barque* avec sa charge,
sera confisqué, après que la preuve de la contraven-
tion aura esté légitimement faite. Il sera néanmoins
permis à la partie qui se sentira gravée par la sentence
de confiscation, de se pourvoir au conseil d'estat du
roy, dont les gouverneurs ou juges auront rendu la-
dite sentence de confiscation, et d'y porter sa plainte,
sans que pour cela l'exécution de la sentence soit em-
peschée: bien entendu néanmoins que la liberté de
la navigation ne doit estre nullement empeschée,
pourveu

LETTER TO A

commette rien contre le veritable
té.

R T. VI.

accordé, que si les fujets et ha-
utre desdits Roys, et leurs vaif-
et publics, soit marchands et
tez par les tempestes, ou est-
rates ou par les ennemis, ou
e nécessité, sont contraints
de se retirer dans les ports,
ures de rivières, rades et
enantes à l'autre Roy dans
bien et amblement reçûs,
et traitez : qu'ils pourront,
en quelque maniere que ce
ne acheter au prix ordinaire
es, et toutes sortes de provisions
our la vie, ou pour radoubier les vaif-
continuër leur route : qu'on ne les
plus en aucune maniere de sortir des
, mais qu'il leur sera permis de partir,
en toute liberté quand et où il leur plair-
etre molestez ou empêchez : qu'on ne les
point à se defaire de leur charge, ou à de-
ger et exposer en vente leurs marchandises, ou
balots : qu'aussi de leur part ils ne recevront dans
leurs vaisseaux aucunes marchandises, et ne feront
point de pesche, sous peine de confiscation desdits
vaisseaux et marchandises, conformément à ce qui a
esté convenû dans l'article precedent. De plus a
esté accordé, que toutes et quantes fois que les fujets
de l'un ou de l'autre desdits roys seront contraints,
comme il a esté dit ci-dessus, d'entrer avec leurs
vaisseaux dans les ports de l'autre roy, ils seront obli-
gez, en entrant, d'arborer la banniere, ou marque
de leur nation, et d'avertir de leur arrivée par trois
coups de mousquet : à faute de quoi faire, et d'en-
voyer

MEMBER OF PARLIAM

voyer une chaloupe à terre, ils po
quez.

A R T. V

Pareillement si les vaisseau
desdits Roys, & de leurs suje
à échouër, jetter en mer leu
qu'à Dieu ne plaise, faire r
arrive quelqu'autre malheur
aide et secours avec bonté e
en danger, ou auront fait
livré des faus conduits, ou
se retirer dans leur pays en
lestez.

A R T.

Qui si les vaisseaux de l'
feront contraints par quelque *ne*
ce soit, comme il a été dit, de s'
ports de l'autre Roy, se trouvent au^a
ou de quatre, & peuvent donner
cause de soupçon, ils feront aussi-tôt con
verneur ou principal magistrat du lieu,
leur arrivée; et ne demeureront qu'autant
qu'ils en auront permission du dit gouverneur *P*
mandant, & ce qu'il sera juste et raisonnable, pou^{My}
pouvoir de vivres, et pour radoubier et equiper leurs
vaisseaux.

That it may appear what was the sense both Houses
of Parliament had of these treaties, I have here
adjoined the Resolutions, and Addresses of the
Lords, and Commons, upon the petition of the
merchants last year, and his Majesty's most gra-
cious answers.

Jovis, 30 die Martii, 1738.

Resolved,

That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is
the natural and undoubted right of the British subjects
to

LETTER TO A

ships on any part of the seas of
om any part of his Majesty's do-
the freedom of navigation and
subjects of Great-Britain have
by the law of nations, and by
subsisting between the two
and Spain, has been greatly
wards under pretences altoget-
arrantable; that before and
the treaty of Seville, and the
crown of Spain pursuant
ction and security of the
n, many unjust seizures and
e, and great depredations
ds, attended with many in-
lty and barbarity; that the
ions made to the court of Spain for
and satisfaction to his majesty's in-
or bringing the offenders to condign
and for preventing the like abuses for
have proved vain and ineffectual, and
orders or cedulas, granted by the king
for restitution and reparation of great losses
ned by the unlawful and unjustifiable seizures
and captures made by the Spaniards, have been dis-
obeyed by the Spanish governors, or totally evaded
and eluded; all which violences and depredations
have been carried on to the great loss and damage of
the subjects of Great-Britain trading to America, and
in direct violation of the treaties subsisting between
the two crowns.

A motion was made, and the question being put,
that the said resolution be recommitted;

It passed in the negative.

Then the said resolution being read a second time,
was agreed to by the house.

Mr. Alderman Perry also acquainted the house,
that he was directed by the committee to move the
house,

MEMBER OF

house, that an humble Majesty, humbly beseech royal endeavours with his to obtain effectual relief for his convince the court of Spain, his Majesty may be to prudence and amity betwixt the only subsist, by a strict observance of their mutual treaties, and a just regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each other) his Majesty can no longer suffer such constant and ruin to be carried on, to the detriment of his trading for Majesty, that in case his royal for procuring justice, and *that navigation and commerce, in need* an undoubted right to by treaty *roya* tions, shall not be able to procure and friendship of the king of Spain, as his Majesty may reasonably expect and faithful ally, this house will effect his Majesty in taking such measures, as his justice shall make it necessary for his Majesty to pursue. My

And Mr. Alderman Perry moved the house accordingly.

Resolved,

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly beseeching his Majesty, to use his royal endeavours with his Catholick Majesty, to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, and to convince the court of Spain, that, how desirous soever his Majesty may be to preserve a good correspondence and amity betwixt the two crowns (which can only subsist, by a strict observance of their mutual treaties, and a just regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each other) his Majesty can no longer

R T O A

and repeated insults and to the dishonour of his his trading subjects; and that, in case his royal and procuring justice, and *for the vigation and commerce*, which bte right to by treaties and ll not be able to procure, dship of the king of Spain, majesty may reasonably ex- ithful ally, this house will majesty in taking such mea- ice shall make it necessary

7 die Aprilis, 1738.

reported, that the House attended h their Resolution and Address of the March last, to which his Majesty was give this most gracious Answer, *viz.*

Gentlemen,

I AM fully sensible of the many and unwarrant- able depredations committed by the Spaniards; and you may be assured, I will make use of the most proper and effectual means, that are in my power, to procure justice and satisfaction to my injured sub- jects, and *for the future security of their trade and navigation*. I can make no doubt, but you will sup- port me, with cheerfulness, in all such measures, as, in pursuance of your advice, I may be necessitated to take, for the honour of my crown and kingdoms, and the rights of my people.

The

MEMBER C

The humble ADDRESS
the Lords Spiritual and
assembled.

Die Mart

Most Gracious Sor

WE your majesty's
jects, the lords spi
liament assembled, having
sideration the many unjust
committed by the Spaniard
and effects of divers of y
America, have come to the
which we beg leave in the h treaty
before your majesty, for your roya
viz.

I. Resolved, That the subjects of
Great-Britain have a clear and undoul
navigate in the American seas, to and from
of his majesty's dominions; and for carry
such trade and commerce as they are justly in My
unto in America; and also to carry all sorts of goods
and merchandizes, or effects, from one part of his
majesty's dominions to any other part thereof; and
that no goods, being so carried, are by any treaty
subsisting between the crowns of Great-Britain and
Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or pro
hibited goods; and that the searching of such ships
on the open seas, under pretence of their carrying
contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and
infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two
crowns.

II. Resolved, That it appears to this house, that
as well before, as since the execution of the treaty
of Seville, on the part of Great-Britain, divers ships
H and

TO A

es, belonging to British
ly seized and confiscated
etences altogether unjust
t many of the sailors
been injuriously and
ill-treated; and that
on and commerce be-
cts, by the law of na-
treaties subsisting be-
Britain and Spain, hath
ged and interrupted, to the
our merchants, and in di-
treaties.

appears to this house, that
been made, on the part of
t of Spain, in a manner the
aties, and to the peace and
fting between the two crowns, for
otorious abuses and grievances before-
d preventing the like for the future,
aining adequate satisfaction to his injured
which, in the event, have proved entirely
s, and of no effect.

we think it our duty, on this important occasion,
humbly to represent to your majesty, That we are
most sensibly affected with the many and grievous
injuries and losses sustained by your majesty's trading
subjects, by means of these unwarrantable depreda-
tions and seizures; and to give your majesty the
strongest and most sincere assurances, That in case
your friendly and powerful instances for procuring
restitution and reparation to your injured subjects,
and *for the future security of their trade and navi-
gation*, shall fail of having their due effect and in-
fluence on the court of Spain, and shall not be able to
obtain that real satisfaction and security, which your
majesty may in justice expect; we will zealously and
cheerfully concur in all such measures as shall be-
come

MEMBER OF

come necessary for the honour, the preservation of commerce, and the common

His MAJESTY's

My Lords,

I AM sensibly touch'd and injuries sustain'd by America from the cruelty of the Spaniards. You are to procure satisfaction at they have already suffer'd. *freedom of navigation for* I am to my people the full *termin'd* to which they are entitled by treaty nations.

I doubt not but I shall have your c^o the support of such measures as may be n^{ecess} that purpose.

My
P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE I wrote my letter, news is come into the country that two or three of our ships have been very lately taken by the Spaniards, one of them by a Spanish man of war, with the king's commission, on the high seas, the captain of which is now imprisoned at Cadiz; and that two sloops belonging to the South-Sea company are detained, and a guard is set upon our factory at the Havannah. If *these* are the *first-fruits* of our peace, *what will the harvest be?*

But after all, Sir, have we any peace at all? have we any thing granted us that will even bear that name?

R, &c.

ly amused by the Spani-
r money home, (which we
two richly-laden ships,)
oast for us to act with

ask one question more.
that one of our men of
ken the Spanish register
commodore Brown, it
carried back to the la-
ken, and restored again.
it act *without*, or *against*
to cruise, why was his
se orders only given for
ts, and to look like action?
ight and prudent to have
y, that was aboard this ship, as a
inds, in case that peace should be re-
proper terms? We might have kept it
ecurity for the repayment of our losses;
e act of the Spaniards, in detaining our
the Havannah, is in reality adding a new
to the past. Let me however observe, that,
ugh reparation to our merchants is highly fit, and
necessary, and what we ought to demand, it is by far
the point of least importance to the nation. We are
interested no doubt for them upon many accounts,
but both we and they have a much greater interest
in the future security of commerce being firmly esta-
blished. This is the national concern, this both
houses of parliament have strongly insisted on, this
his majesty has promised to procure for us. If this
be neglected, any present gratification will be of
little advantage, and should be thought of with scorn.

LET-

LET

FR

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PERSIAN IN EN

TO HIS

My

FRIEND AT ISPAHAN.

L E T

P E R S I A N I N H I N

T O H I S

F R I E N D A T I S P A H A N

TO
BOOK

SIR,

I Need not acquaint
Letters were put into
I have taken in translation
that having been long a scholar
ed Mr. Dadichy, Interpreter
guages, I have acquired ^{ermine}
tongue, to be able to give ^{the} sense
justly: though I must acknowledge
far inferior to the Eastern sublimity of
which no English expression can come
which no English reader would admire.

I am aware that some people may suspect
character of a Persian is *fictitious*, as many such
terfeits have appeared both in France and England. My
but whoever reads them with attention, will be con-
vinced, that they are certainly the work of a perfect
stranger. The observations are so *foreign* and *out of*
the way, such *remote hints* and *imperfect notions* are
taken up, *our present happy condition* is in all respects
so ill understood, that it is hardly possible any *English-*
man should be the author.

Yet as there is a pleasure in knowing how things
here affect a foreigner, though his conceptions of
them be ever so extravagant, I think you may ven-
ture to expose them to the eyes of the world, the ra-
ther because it is plain the man who wrote them is a
lover of liberty; and must be supposed more impar-
tial

KSELLER.

When they speak of their
favourite opinions.

To add, but that it is a
recommendation to the publick
man about the court,
them for the freedom with
publisher not having
with any body there,
able advantage, and
the reader.

r,

Your most humble servant,

LET-

[
L E T

SELIM to M

THOU knowest
sons that moved
visit England: thou wast
the cause of it. The
friend Usbec, of those
seen, raised in us an ar
and particularly *this famous*
ving been there himself, he
fect accounts.

By his persuasion we determin^{ed}
but when we were just ready to set
orders of the sophi our master detain
feet of his sacred throne.

Unwilling as I was to go alone, I yield
importunities, and was content to live sing
strangers and enemies to the faith, that I sh
able to gratify thy thirst of knowledge.

My voyage was prosperous: and I find this co^{My}
try well worthy our curiosity. The recommendations
given me by Usbec to some English he knew at Pa-
ris, are a great advantage to me: and I have taken
such pains to learn the language, that I am already
more capable of conversation than a great many fo-
reigners I meet with here, who have resided much
longer in this country, especially the French, who
seem to value themselves upon speaking no tongue
but their own.

I shall apply myself principally to study *the English*
government, so different from that of Persia, and of
which Usbec has conceived at a distance so great an
idea.

Whatever

LETTERS.

of this people appears to
tical, I will also give thee
I may judge by what I
subject which will not

ero Ufbec, and he will
as may happen to oc-
seem to you both to be
immediately conclude
asonings of men are so
ears the excess of folly
other, be esteemed the

LETTER II.

to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

At objects of a stranger's curiosity are
public spectacles. I was carried last night
they call an opera, which is a concert of mu-
sight from Italy, and in every respect *foreign*
country. It was performed in a chamber as
magnificent as the resplendent palace of our empe-
ror, and as full of handsome women as his seraglio.
They had no eunuchs among them; but there was
one who sung upon the stage, and, by the luxurious
tenderness of his airs, seemed fitter to make them
wanton, than keep them chaste.

Instead of the habit proper to such creatures, he
wore a suit of armour, and called himself Julius
Cæsar.

I asked who Julius Cæsar was, and whether he
had been famous for *singing*?

They told me, he was a warrior that had conquer-
ed all the world, and debauched half the women in
Rome.

I was

P E R S I A

I was going to express
him so properly represented
who fate nigh me, cry
O that dear creature!

At the same time I
that both the musick and

You must not mind
the *other party*, and co

How! said I, have
replied he, it is a rule
by our senses and under
see, and think, only as
engaged.

I hope, said I, that a stra
these divisions: and to say
very far from inflaming me to
is much more likely to lay me asleep
sets us all a dancing; but I am quite
this.

Do but *fancy it moving*, returned mⁿ
you will soon be *moved* as much as oth^r
trick you may learn when you will, w^h
pains: we have most of us learnt it in our t^u

L E T T E R III.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Was this morning present at a diversion extreme-
ly different from the opera, of which I have gi-
ven thee a description, and they tell me it is peculiar
to this country. The spectators were placed in gal-
leries of an open circus: below them was an area
filled, not with eunuchs and musicians, but with bulls
and bears, and dogs and fighting men. The plea-
sure was to see the animals worry and gore one ano-
ther,

LETTERS.

receive many wounds ;
 es rewarded with showers
 in proportion as the com-
 t. I had some compas-
 were forcibly incensed
human brutes, who, un-
 of injury, could spill
 their own, seemed to
 er, I looked upon it as
 f this people, and ima-
 hat ferocity a spirit of
 who fate near me, was
 parity of the fight, and re-
 brought me thither with the
 the English in delighting in
 friend agreed with him in ge-
 ed that it ought not to be encou-
 zed state : but a gentleman who was
 ve them cast a very sour look at both,
 seem at all of their opinion. He was
 hort black wig, had his boots on, and
 s hand a long whip, which, when the fel-
 ght stoutly, he would crack very loud by
 approbation. One would have thought by
 aspect that he had fought some prizes himself, or
 at least that he had received a good part of his educa-
 tion in this place. His discourse was as rough as his
 figure, but did not appear to me to want sense. I sup-
 pose, Sir, said he to my friend, that you have been bred
 at court, and therefore I am not surprized that you
 do not relish the bear-garden : but let me tell you,
 that if more people came hither, and fewer loitered
 in the drawing-room, it would not be the worse for
 Old England. We are indeed a *civilized state*, as
 you are pleased to call it ; but I could wish, upon
 certain occasions, we were not quite so *civil*. This
 gentleness and effeminacy in our manners will soft-
 en

PERSIA

en us by degrees into
to hate fighting in earnest
see it in jest. You find
of modern Rome, squ
tion : but I am for the
and liberty. And as
reigner there upbraide
French King whom
that acted much more
blood of millions of
wantonness, and butch
without any cause of qu
of being esteemed *the gr*
rope.

LETTER

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan

From

IT is the law of England, that when
insolvent, his creditors may shut him up
in prison, and keep him there, if they please, for all
his life, unless he pays the whole of what he owes. My
curiosity led me, the other day, to one of those pri-
sons : my heart is still heavy with the remembrance
of the objects I saw there. Among the various causes
of their undoing, some are of so extraordinary a
kind, that I cannot help relating them to thee. One
of the prisoners, who carried in his looks the most
settled melancholy, told me he had been master of
an easy fortune, and lived very happily a good while ;
till he became acquainted with a lawyer, who, in
looking over some old writings of his family, un-
luckily discovered certain parchments that gave him
a right to an estate in the possession of one of his
neighbours : upon which he was persuaded to go to
law.

LETTERS.

His suit for twenty years, but turned his brain, he introduced his neighbour to gain his cause, but rates, and sent him to enquire. As he was a citizen, and without being covetous to marry rich heiresses, who expences, and found so herself and her husband, from his new house near us in which I found him. He said I to him, when extravagance would be your enemy, I should have been a fool could have caught her with a gallop, then have got rid of her by law: but, now, she was virtuous as well as ugly; her passions were equipage and gaming.—I was surprized, that a man should wish to find an adulteress, or that he should be obliged to keep her to his undoing, only because she was not one.

Another said, he was a gentleman of a good family, and having a mind to rise in the state, spent so much money to purchase a seat in parliament, that though he succeeded pretty well in his views at court, the salary did not pay the debt; and being unable to get himself chose again at the next election, he lost his place and his liberty both together.

The next that I spoke to was reputed the best scholar in Europe: he understood the Oriental languages, and talked to me in very good Arabic.

I asked how it was possible that so learned a man should be in want, and whether all the books he had read could not keep him out of jail? Sir, said he, those

those books are the very things that brought me hither. Would to God I had been bred a cobbler. I should then have possessed some useful knowledge, and might have kept my family from starving: but the world which I read of, and that I lived in, were so very different, that I was undone by the force of speculation.

There was another who had been bred to merchandize, but being of too great an imagination for the dulness of trade, he applied himself to poetry, and neglecting his other business, was soon reduced to the state I saw him in. But he assured me he should not be long there; for his lucky confinement having given him more leisure for study, he had quitted poetry, and taken to the mathematics, by the means of which he had found out the longitude, and expected to obtain a great reward, which the government promised to the discoverer. I perceived he was not in his perfect senses, and pitied such an odd sort of frenzy. But my compassion was infinitely greater for some unhappy people who were shut up in that miserable place, by having lost their fortunes in the public funds, or in private projects; of which this age and country have been very fruitful, and which, under the fallacious notion of great advantage, drew in the unwary to their destruction. I asked in what *dungeon* they were confined, who had been the doers of these wretched men? but, to my surprise, was informed, that the contrivances and projects had less reason than the men who were afraid of a jail. Good heavens! it is possible, that, in a country where so many are cheated out of their money, and the villains who

a land where such a mockery of justice is carried on.

LETTER V.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Was the other day in a house where I saw a sight very strange to a European. There was a number of tables in the room round which were placed several sets of men and women. They seemed wonderfully intent, upon some *bits of painted paper* which they held in their hands. I imagined at first that they were performing some magical ceremony, and that the figures I saw traced on the bits of paper, were a mystical talisman or charm. What more confirmed me in this belief was the grimaces and distortions of their countenances, much like those of our magicians in the act of conjuring: but enquiring of the gentleman that introduced me, I was told they were at *play*, and that *this* was the favourite diversion of both sexes.

We have quite *another* way of *diverting* ourselves with the women in Persia, answered I. But I see no signs of mirth among them: if they are merry, why do not they laugh, or sing, or jump about? If I may judge of their hearts by their looks, half of these *revellers* are ready to hang down their heads. That may be, said my friend; for they are losing more than they are winning. Do you call that *play*?—Yes, said he, they are thoroughly pleased unless they lose at stake. Those *cards*,

The *last*, said I, is in the right; for he ventures nothing: but what excuse can be thought on for *the former*? Are the nobility in England so indifferent to wealth and honour, to expose them without the least necessity? I must believe that they are generally *sure of winning*, and that those *they* play with *have the odds against them*.

If the chance was only *even*, answered he, it would be tolerable: but their *Hefaries* engage them *at great advantage*, and are *wise* to leave any thing to fortune.

This comes, said I, *from* your being allowed the use of wine. If these gentlemen and ladies were not quite *intoxicated* with that cursed liquor, they could not possibly act so absurdly.—But why does not the government take care of them when they are in that condition? Methinks the fellows that *rob* them in this manner should be brought to justice.

Alas! answered he, these *cheats* are an innocent sort of people. They only prey upon the *vices* and *luxury* of *a few particulars*: but there are *others* who raise estates by the *miseries* and *ruin* of *their country*; who *game* not with their *own* money, but with that of the *public*, and securely *play away* the substance of the *orphan* and the *widow*, of the *husbandman* and the *trader*. Till justice is done upon these, the others have a right to impunity: and it is no scandal to see *gamesters* live like gentlemen, where *stock-jobbers* live like princes.

LETTER VI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THOU wouldst be astonished to hear some women in this country talk of love: their discourses about it are as ridiculous as their notions of paradise, and they exclude the pleasure of the senses out of both. But how ^{ever} satisfied they may be in the world to come with such visionary joys, it is my opinion, that the nicest of them all, if she were to enjoy her paradise here, would make it a Mahometan one. I had lately a conversation on this subject with one of these *platonics* (for that is the title they affect). In answer to all her pretty reasonings, I told her the following tale of a fair lady, who was a *platonic* like herself.

The Loves of Ludovico and Honoria.

THE city of Genoa has been always famed, above any town in Europe, for the refinement of its gallantry. It is common there for a gentleman to profess himself the humble servant of a handsome woman, and wait upon her to every public place for twenty years together, without ever seeing her in private, or being entitled to any greater favours than a kind look, or a touch of her fair hand. Of all this sighing tribe, the most enamoured, the most constant, and the most respectful, was signor Ludovico.

His mistress, Honoria Grimaldi, only daughter to a senator of that name, was the greatest beauty of the age in which she lived, and, at the same time, the coyest and most reserved. So great was her nicety in the point of love, that although she could not be insensible to the addresses of signor Ludovico, yet she

she could not bring herself to think of marrying her lover ; which, she said, was admitting him to freedoms entirely inconsistent with the respect that character requires. In vain did he tell her of the violence of his passion for her. She answered, that hers for him was no less violent : but it was his mind she loved, and could enjoy that without going to bed to him. Ludovico was ready to despair at these discourses of his mistress. He could not but admire such fine sentiments, yet he wished she had not been quite so perfect. He writ her a very melancholy letter : and she returned him one in verse, full of sublime expressions about love ; but not a word that tended to satisfy the poor man's impatience. At last he applied himself to her father ; and, to engage him to make use of his authority, offered to take Honoria without a portion. The father, who was a plain man, was mightily pleased with this proposal, and made no difficulty to promise him success. Accordingly he very roundly told his daughter, that she must be married the next day, or go to a nunnery. This dilemma startled her very much. In spite of all her repugnance to the marriage bed, she found something about her still more averse to the idea of a cloister. An absolute separation from Ludovico was what she could not bear : it was even worse than an absolute conjunction. In this distress she did not know what to do ; she turned over above a hundred romances to search for precedents ; and, after many struggles with herself, resolved to surrender upon terms. She therefore told her lover that she consented to be his wife, provided she might be so by degrees : and that, after the ceremony was over, he would not pretend at once to all the rights and privileges of a husband ; but allow her modesty leisure to make a gradual and decent retreat. Ludovico did not like such a capitulation ; but rather than not have her, he was

content to pay this last compliment to her caprice. They were married: and, at the end of the first month, he was very happy to find himself arrived at the full enjoyment of her lips.

While he was thus gaining ground, inch by inch, his father died, and left him a great estate in the island of Corfica. His presence was necessary there; but he could not think of parting from Honoria. They embarked together, and Ludovico had good hopes, that he should not only take possession of his estate, but of his wife too, at his arrival. Whether it was, that Venus, who is said to be born out of the sea, was more powerful than at land, or from the freedom which is usual aboard a ship, it is sure, that, during the voyage, he was indulged in greater liberties than ever he had presumed to take before: nay, it is confidently asserted, that they were such liberties, as have a natural and irresistible tendency to overcome all scruples whatsoever. But while he was sailing on with a fair wind, and almost *in the port*, fortune, who took a pleasure to persecute him, brought an African corsair in their way, that quickly put an end to their dalliance, by making them his slaves.

Who can express the affliction and despair of this loving couple, at so sudden and ill-timed a captivity! Ludovico saw himself deprived of his virgin-bride on the very point of obtaining all his wishes: and Honoria had reason to apprehend, that she was fallen into rougher hands than his, and such as no considerations could restrain. But the martyrdom she looked for in that instant was unexpectedly deferred till they came to Tunis. The corsair, seeing her so beautiful, thought her a mistress worthy of his prince: and to him he presented her at their landing, in spite of her own, and her husband's tears.—O unfortunate end of all her pure and heroical sentiments! Was it
for

for this that her favours were so long and so obstinately denied to the tender Ludovico, to have them ravished in a moment by a rude barbarian, who did not so much as thank her for them? But let us leave her in the seraglio of the *dey*, and see what became of Ludovico after this cruel separation. The corsair, finding him unfit for any labour, made use of him to teach his children music, in which he was perfectly well skilled. This service would not have been very painful, if it had not been for the remembrance of Honoria, and the thought of the brutalities she was exposed to. These were always in his head, night and day, and he imagined, that she had by this time, killed herself, rather than submit to so gross a violation. But while he was thus tormenting himself for one woman, he gave equal uneasiness to another. His master's wife saw him often from her window, and fell violently in love with him.—The African ladies are utter strangers to delicacy and refinement. She made no scruple to acquaint him with her desires, and sent her favourite slave to introduce him by night into her chamber. Ludovico would fain have been excused, being ashamed to commit such an infidelity to his dear Honoria: but the slave informed him, that if he hoped to live an hour, he must comply with her lady's inclinations; for that in Afric, refusals of that kind were always revenged with sword or poison. No constancy could be strong enough to resist so terrible a menace: he therefore went to the rendezvous at the time appointed, where he found a mistress infinitely more complying than his fantastical Italian. But in the midst of their endearments they heard the corsair at the door of his wife's apartment. Upon the alarm of his coming, the frightened lover made the best of his way out of the window; which not being very high, he had the good fortune to get off unhurt. The corsair did not
see

see him ; but by the confusion his wife was in, he suspected that somebody had been with her. His jealousy directed him to Ludovico : and though he had no other proof than bare suspicion, he was determined to punish him severely ; and, at the same time, secure himself for the future. He therefore gave orders to his eunuchs to put him in the same condition with themselves ; which inhuman command was performed with a Turkish rigour far more desperate and compleat than any such thing had been ever practised in Italy. But the change this operation wrought upon him, so improved his voice, that he became the finest singer in all Africk. His reputation was so great, that the dey of Tunis sent to beg him of his master, and preferred him to a place in his own seraglio. He had now a free access to his Honoria, and an opportunity of contriving her escape. To that end he secretly hired a ship to be ready to carry them off, and did not doubt but he should find her very willing to accompany his flight. It was not long before he saw her : and you may imagine the excess of her joy, at so strange and agreeable a surprise.

Can it be possible cried she ; can it be possible that I see you in this place ! O my dear Ludovico, I shall expire in the pleasure of your embraces. But by what magic could you get in, and deceive the vigilance of my tyrant and his guards ?

My habit will inform you, answered he, in a softer tone of voice than she had been used to : I am now happy in the loss which I have sustained, since it furnishes me with the means of your delivery. Trust yourself to me, my dear Honoria, and I will take you out of the power of this barbarian, who has so little regard to your delicacy. You may now be happier with me than you were before, as I shall not trouble you with *those coarse solicitations* which gave

gave you so much uneasiness. We will love with the purity of angels, and leave sensual enjoyments to the vulgar, who have not a relish for higher pleasure.

How! said Honoria, are you really no man? No, replied he; but I have often heard you say, that your love was only to my mind: and that, I do assure you, is still the same. Alas! said she, I am sorry mine is altered; but since my being here, I am turned Mahometan, and my religion will not suffer me to run away with an unbeliever. My new husband has taught me certain doctrines unknown to me before; in the practice of which I am resolved to live and die. Adieu! I tell thee, my conscience will not permit me to have a longer conversation with such an infidel.

Thus ended the Loves of Ludovico and Honoria.

LETTER VII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Have received thy answers to my letters with a pleasure, which the distance I am at from my friends, and country, rendered greater than thou wouldst believe. I find thee very impatient to be informed of the government and policy of this country, which I promised to send thee some account of: but though I have been diligent in my enquiries, and lost no time since my arrival here, I am unable to answer the questions thou demandest of me, otherwise than by acknowledging my ignorance.

I have,

I have, for instance, been often assured that the English parliament is a check to the king's authority : and yet I am well informed, that the only way to advancement at court, is to gain a seat in parliament.

The house of commons is the representative of the nation ; nevertheless there are many great *towns* which send *no* deputies thither, and many hamlets almost uninhabited, that have a right of sending *two*. Several members have never seen their electors, and several are elected by the *parliament*, who were rejected by the *people*. All the electors swear not to *sell* their voices : yet many of the candidates are undone by the expence of *buying them*. This whole affair is involved in deep mystery, and inexplicable difficulties.

Thou askest if *commerce* be as flourishing as formerly ? Some, whom I have consulted on that head, say, it is now in its meridian : and there is really an appearance of its being so ; for luxury is prodigiously encreased, and it is hard to imagine how it can be supported without an inexhaustible trade. But *others* pretend, that *this very luxury* is a proof of its decline : and they add, that the *frauds* and *villanies* in all the *trading* companies are so many inward poisons, which, if not speedily expelled, will destroy it intirely in a little time.

Thou wouldst know if *property* be so safely guarded as is generally believed. It is certain, that the whole power of a king of England cannot force an acre of land from the weakest of his subjects ; but a *knaveish attorney* will take away his whole estate by those very *laws* which were designed for its security. Nay, if I am not misinformed, even those who are chosen by the people to be the great guardians of property, have sometimes taken more from them in
one

one session of parliament, for the most useless expences, than the most absolute monarch could venture to raise upon the most urgent occasions.

These, Mirza, are the *contradictions* that perplex me. My judgment is bewildered in uncertainty : I doubt my own observations, and distrust the relations of others. More time, and better information, may, perhaps, clear them up to me ; till then, modesty forbids me to impose my conjecture upon thee, after the manner of Christian travellers, whose prompt decisions are the effect rather of folly than penetration.

LETTER VIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

AS I now understand *English* pretty well, I went last night with some friends to see a play. The principal character was a young fellow, who, in the space of three or four hours that the action lasted, cuckolds two or three husbands, and debauches as many virgins. I had heard that the English theatre was famous for killing people upon the stage : but this author was more for *propagating than destroying*.

There were a great many ladies at the representation of this modest performance ; and, though they sometimes hid their faces with their fans (I suppose for fear of shewing that they did *not* blush) yet, in general, they seemed to be much delighted with the *fine gentleman's* heroical exploits. I must confess, said I, this entertainment is far more *natural* than the opera, and I do not wonder that the ladies are *moved* at it : but if in Persia we allowed our women to be present

present at such spectacles as these, what would signify our bolts, our bars, our eunuchs? though we should double our jealousy and care, they would soon get the better of all restraint, and put in practice those lessons of the stage, which it is so much pleasanter to ACT than to BEHOLD.

LETTER IX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

A Friend carried me lately to an assembly of the *beau monde*, which is a meeting of men and women of the first fashion. The croud was so very great, that the two sexes promiscuously pressed one another in a manner that seemed very extraordinary to Oriental eyes. I observed a young man and a beautiful young woman sitting in a window together, and whispering one another with so much earnestness, that neither the great noise in the room, nor number of passengers who rubbed by them continually, gave them the least disturbance. They looked at one another with the most animated tenderness: the lady, especially, had in her eyes such a mixture of *softness* and *desire*, that I expected every moment to see them *withdraw*; in order to satisfy their mutual impatience, in a manner, that even the *European liberty* would not admit of in so public a place. I made my friend take notice of them, and asked him *how long they had been married*? He smiled at my mistake, and told me, they were *not* married; that the *lady*, indeed, had been married about a year and half, to a man that stood at a little distance; but that the *gentleman* was an unmarried man of quality, who made it his business to corrupt other mens wives.

That

That he had begun the winter with this lady, and that this was her *first affair* of that sort; her husband and she having married *for love*.

As I had heard of many employed in the same manner, and could not perceive that they did any thing else, I asked my friend, if there was any *seminary*, any *public foundation* for educating young men of quality to this *profession*; and whether they could carry on the business without frequent interruptions from the respective husbands? I will explain the whole matter to you, says he. There is, indeed, no public foundation or academy for this purpose; but it depends upon the private care of their several parents, who, if I may use the expression, *negatively* breed them up to this business, by making them entirely unfit for *any other*: for, lest their sons should be diverted from the profession of *gallantry* by a dull application to *graver* studies, they give them a very superficial tincture of learning, but take care to instruct them thoroughly in the more shewish parts of education, such as music, dressing, dancing, &c. By which means, when they come to be men, they naturally prefer the gay and easy conversation of the fair sex, and are well received by them. As for the husbands, they are the people in the world who give them the least disturbance: but, on the contrary, generally live in the strictest intimacy with those who intend them the *favour* of *cuckoldom*. The marriage contract being here perpetual, though the causes of it are of short duration, the most sensible men are desirous of having some assistance to support the *burthensome perpetuity*. For instance, every man marries either *for money*, or *for love*—In the first case, the *money* becomes his own as soon as the wife does; so that, having *had* what *he wanted* from *her*, he is very willing she should

should *have* what *she wanted* from *any body* rather than from him. He is quiet at home, and fears *no reproaches*.

In the latter case, *the beauty* he married soon grows familiar by uninterrupted possession : his own greediness surfeited him ; he is ashamed of his disgust, or at least of his indifference, after all the transports of his first desire ; and gladly accepts terms of domestic peace through the *mediation of a lover*.

There are, indeed, some exceptions : some husbands, who, preferring an old mistaken point of honour to real peace and quiet at home, disturb their wives pleasure ; but they are very few, and are very ill looked upon.

I thanked my friend for explaining to me so extraordinary a piece of *domestic oeconomy* ; but could not help telling him, that in my mind, *our Persian method* was more reasonable, of having *several wives* under the *care* of one *eunuch*, rather than *one wife* under the *care* of *several lovers*.

LETTER X.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

WE have often read together and admired the little history of the Troglodytes, related by our countryman Usbec *, with a spirit peculiar to his writings. Unequal as I am to the imitation of so excellent an author, I have a mind, in a continuation of that story, to shew thee by what steps, and through

* Persian Letters from Paris, vol. I. let. xi. to xiv.

through what changes, the original good of society is overturned, and mankind become wickeder and more miserable in a state of government, than they were when left in a state of nature.

Continuation of the HISTORY *of the*
TROGLODYTES.

The Troglodytes were so affected with the virtue of the good old man who refused the crown which they had offered, that they determined to remain without a king. The love of the publick was so strong in every particular, that there was no need of authority to enforce obedience. The law of nature and uncorrupted reason was engraven on their hearts: by that alone they governed all their actions, and on that alone they established all their happiness. But the most perfect felicity of mortal men is subject to continual disturbance. Those *barbarians*, whom they had defeated some time before, stirred up by a desire of revenge, invaded them again with greater forces. They fell upon them unawares, carried off their flocks and herds, burnt their houses, and led their women captive: every thing was in confusion, and the want of order made them incapable of defence. They soon found the necessity of uniting under a single chief. As the danger required vigour and alacrity, they pitched upon a young man of distinguished courage, and placed him at their head. He led them on with so much spirit and good conduct, that he soon forced the enemy to retire, and recovered all the spoil.

The Troglodytes strewed flowers in his way, and, to reward the service he had done them, presented him with the most beautiful of the virgins he had delivered from captivity. But, animated by his fortune, and unwilling to part with his command,
he

he advised them to make themselves amends for the losses they had sustained, by carrying the war into the enemy's country ; which, he said, would not be able to resist their victorious arms. Desirous to punish those wicked men, they very gladly came into his proposal. But an old Troglodyte standing up in the assembly, endeavoured to persuade them to gentler councils. ' The goodness of God, said he, O my countrymen, has given us strength to repulse our enemies, and they have paid very dearly for molesting us. What more do you desire from your victory, than peace and security to yourselves, repentance and shame to your invaders ? It is proposed to invade them in your turn, and you are told it will be easy to subdue them. But to what end would you subdue them, when they are no longer in a condition to hurt you ? do you desire to tyrannize over them ? Have a care that in learning to be *tyrants*, you do not also learn to be *slaves*. If you know how to value liberty as you ought, you will not deprive others of it, who, though unjust, are men like yourselves, and should not be oppressed.'

This wise remonstrance was not heeded in the temper the people was then in. The sight of the desolations that had been caused by the late irruption, made them resolve on a violent revenge. Besides, they were now grown fond of war, and the young men especially were eager of a new occasion to signalize their valour. Greater powers were therefore given to the general ; and the event was answerable to his promises ; for, in a short time, he subdued all the nations that had joined in the league against the Troglodytes. The merit of this success, so endeared him to that grateful people, that, in the heat and riot of their joy, they unanimously chose him for their king, without prescribing any bounds to his authority.

They

They were too innocent to suspect any abuse of such a generous trust, and thought that when virtue was on the throne, the most absolute government was the best.

LETTER XI.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

THE first act of the new king was to dispose of the conquered lands. One share of them, by general consent, he allotted to himself, and the rest he divided among those who were companions of his victory. Distinction of rank and inequality of condition, were then first introduced among the Troglodytes: some grew rich, and immediately comparison made others poor. From this single root sprung up a thousand mischiefs; pride, envy, avarice, discontent, deceit, and violence. Unheard-of disorders were committed; nor was any regard paid to the decisions of ancient custom, or the dictates of natural justice. Particulars could no longer be allowed to judge of right; it became necessary to determine it by stated laws. The whole nation applied to the prince, to make those laws, and take care of their execution. But the prince, unequal alone to such a difficult task, was obliged to have recourse to the oldest and wisest of his subjects for assistance. He had not yet so forgot himself, by being seated on a new-erected throne, as to imagine that he was become all-sufficient, or that he was placed there to govern by his caprice. It was therefore his greatest care, how to supply his own defects by the counsels of those who were most famed for their knowledge and abilities.

Thus

Thus a senate was formed, which, with the king, composed the legislature; and thus the people freely bound themselves, by consenting to such regulations, as the king and senate should decree.

LETTER XII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

THE institution of laws among the Troglodytes, was attended with this inevitable ill effect, that they began to think every thing right, which was not legally declared to be a crime. It seemed as if the natural obligations to virtue were destroyed, by the foreign influence of human authority, and vice was not shunned as a real evil, but grew to be thought a forbidden good.

One Troglodyte said to himself, “ I have made advantage of the simplicity of my neighbour, to over-reach him in a bargain: he may reproach me, perhaps, but he cannot punish me; for the law allows me to rob him with his own consent.”

Another was asked by his friend for a sum of money, which he had lent him some years before.

Have you any thing to shew for it? answered he.

A third was implored to remit part of his tenant's rent, because the man, by unavoidable misfortunes, was become very poor. Do not you see, replied he, that he has still enough to maintain his family? By starving them he may find money to pay me, and the law requires him so to do.

Thus the hearts of the Troglodytes were hardened; but a greater mischief still ensued. The laws in their first framing were few and plain, so that any
man

man could easily understand them, and plead his own cause without an advocate.

Some inconveniencies were found to flow from this. The rules were too general and loose: too much was left to the equity of the judge, and many particular cases seemed to remain undetermined and unprovided for. It was therefore proposed in the great council of the nation, to specify all those several exceptions; to tie the judges down to certain forms; to explain, correct, add to, and reserve whatsoever might seem capable of any doubtful or different interpretations. While the matter was yet in deliberation, a wise old senator spoke thus:

“ You are endeavouring, O Troglodytes, to amend
“ what is defective in your laws; but know, that
“ by multiplying laws, you will certainly multiply
“ defects. Every new explanation will produce a
“ new objection: and at last the very principles
“ will be lost, on which they were originally formed.
“ Mankind may be governed, and well governed,
“ under any laws that are fixed by ancient
“ use. Besides their being known and understood,
“ they have a sanctity attending them, which commands
“ obedience: but every variation, as it discovers
“ a weakness in them, so it lessens the respect,
“ by which alone, they can be effectually maintained.
“ If subtleties and distinctions are admitted to constitute
“ right, they will equally be made use of to evade it: and if
“ justice is turned into a science, injustice will soon be made a trade.”

LETTER XIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

AS the old man foretold, it came to pass. The laws were *explained* into *contradictions*, and *digested* into *confusion*. Men could no longer tell what was their right, and what was not. A set of Troglodytes undertook to find it out for all the rest : but they were far from doing it out of pure benevolence : their opinions were sold at no little price ; and how false soever they might prove, in the event of the cause, the money was never to be returned. Nay, the longer the dispute could be protracted, the more the parties concerned were to pay. This point being once well established, causes, that before were dispatched in half an hour, now lasted half a century. There were three courts placed one above another : on the door of the lowest was writ, *Law* ; on that of the second, *Equity* ; and on the highest, *Common Sense*. These courts had no connexion with one another, and a quite different method of proceeding. No man could go to the last, without passing through one of the former : and the journey was so tedious, that very few could support the fatigue or the expence. But there was one particular more strange than all the rest. It was very seldom that a man could read a word of the parchment by which he held his estate : and they made their wills in a language, which neither they nor their heirs could understand.

Such were the refinements of the Troglodytes, when they had quitted the simplicity of nature ; and so bewildered were they in the labyrinth of their own laying out.

LET-

LETTER XIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

THE religion of the Troglodytes had been hitherto as simple as their manners. They loved God as the author of their happiness : they feared him as the avenger of injustice ; and they sought to please him by doing good. But their morals being corrupted, their religion could not long continue pure : superstition found means to introduce itself, and compleated their depravation. Their first king, who had been a conqueror, and a law-giver, died, after a long reign, extreamly regretted and revered by his subjects. His son succeeded, not by any claim of hereditary right, but the free election of the people, who loved a family that had done them so many services. As he was sensible that he owed his crown to their veneration for the memory of his father, he endeavoured to carry that veneration as high as possible. He built a tomb for him, which he planted round with laurels, and caused verses to be solemnly recited in praise of his atchievements. When he perceived that these honours were well received in the opinion of the public, he thought he might venture to go farther. He got it to be proposed in the senate, that the dead monarch should be deified, after the example of many nations round about them, who had paid the same compliment to their kings. The senators were become too good courtiers, not to give into so agreeable a piece of flattery, especially as their own honour was concerned in raising the character of their founder : and the people, seduced by their gratitude, thought that those virtues, which had rendered him the protector

and father of his country, very justly entitled him to a subordinate share of divinity.

It is not to be conceived how many evils this alteration produced.

Then first the Troglodytes were made to believe, that their God was to be gained by rich donations; or that his glory was concerned in the worldly pomp and power of his priests. A temple, said those priests, is like a court; you must gain the favour of the ministers, or your petitions will not be received. As the people remembered that their new deity had once been a king, this doctrine seemed plausible enough: and the priests grew absolute on the strength of it. They procured for themselves excessive wealth, exemptions from all public burthens, and almost a total independence upon the civil authority. That the comparison between the temple and the court might hold the better, a great number of ceremonies were invented, and a magnificence of dress was added to them as essential to holiness. The women came warmly into this, and were still more zealous than the men in their attachment to the exterior part of devotion. By degrees the *invisible God*, whom their fathers had worshipped alone, was wholly forgot: and all the vows of the people were paid to the idol, whose superstitious worship was better adapted to human passions, and to the gain of the priests. Expiations, lustrations, sacrifices, processions, and pilgrimages made up the whole of religion. Thus the piety of the Troglodytes was turned aside from reality to form: and it was no longer a consequence, that a very *religious* was a very *honest* man.

LETTER XV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

IN my last letter I told thee how much the Troglodytes were depraved in their notions, and in their manners, from their idolatry. By the arts of the priesthood their corruption encreased every day : *virtue*, instead of being assisted, was overturned by *religion itself*. It was common for a Troglodyte to say, “ I will plunder my neighbour or the public : “ for the anger of our God may be appeased by an “ offering made out of the spoil.”

Another quieted his conscience in this manner : “ I am, indeed, a very great villain, and have injured my benefactor : but I am a constant attender “ on all processions, and have crawled thrice round “ the temple upon my knees.”

A third confessed to a priest, That he had defrauded his ward of an estate. Give half of it to our order, said the confessor, and we will freely endow you with the rest.

But the mischief did not stop even here. From sanctifying trifles, they proceeded to quarrel about them : and the peace of the society was disturbed, to know which impertinence should be preferred. This was the work of the priests, who took upon them to declare what was most agreeable to their God : and declared it differently, as it happened that their passions or interests required. But how slight soever the foundation was, a dispute of this nature never failed to be warmly carried on. Nobody concerned himself about the morals of another ; but every man's opinions were enquired into with the utmost rigour : and woe to those who held any that

that were disliked by the ruling party ; for though neither side could tell the reason why they differed, the difference was never to be forgiven. An aged Troglodyte endeavoured to put a stop to this pious fury, by representing to them, " That their
 " ancestors, who were better men, had no disputes
 " about religion ; but served their God in the only
 " unity required by him : a unity of affection." All the poor man got by this admonition, was to be called an atheist by all the contending sects, and after suffering a thousand persecutions, compelled to take refuge in another land.

L E T T E R XVI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE court had a deeper interest in the establishment of the idolatrous priesthood among the Troglodytes, than was at the first attended to, or foreseen. The very nature of their office particularly attached them to the crown. They were servants of a deified king ; and it was no very great stretch of their function to deify the living monarch also. Accordingly they preached to all the people with an extraordinary warmth of zeal, that the family then reigning was *divine* : that they held the crown, not by the will of the society, but by a pre-eminence of nature. That to resist their pleasure was resisting God : and that every man enjoyed his life and estate by their grace, and at their disposal. In consequence of these doctrines, his *sacred majesty* did just what he thought fit. He was of a martial genius, and had a strong ambition to enlarge his territories. To this end he raised a mighty army, and fell upon his neighbours without a quarrel.

The

The Troglodytes lost their blood, and spent their substance, to make their prince triumphant in a war which could not possibly turn to their advantage: for the power and pride of their tyrant increased with his success. His temper too became fiercer and more severe, by being accustomed to slaughter and devastation: so that his government grew odious to his subjects. Yet the dazzling glory of his victories, and the divinity they were taught to find about him, kept them in awe, and supported his authority. But Providence would not suffer him any longer to vex mankind. He perished, with a great part of his army, by the united valour of many nations who had allied themselves against his encroachments. Content with having punished the aggressor and author of the war, they immediately offered peace to the Troglodytes, upon condition, that all should be restored which had been taken from them in the former wars. That nation humbled by their defeat, very willingly parted with their conquests, to purchase their repose.

LETTER XVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan

From London.

UNDER their third king, who succeeded to his father, upon a new notion of hereditary and divine right, the spirit of the government was wholly changed. He was young, and of a temper much addicted to ease and pleasure; yet bred up with high conceits of kingly power, and a royal disregard to his peoples good. There was a mixture of bigotry in his disposition, which gave the priests a great advantage over him; and as his predecessor had governed by them, they now governed by him.—The people

people too, in imitation of their prince, soon contracted another character; they began to polish and soften all their manners. The young Troglodytes were sent to travel into Persia: they came back with new dresses, new refinements, new follies, and new vices. Like a plague imported from a foreign country, luxury spread itself from these travellers over all the nation. A thousand wants were created every day, which nature neither suggested nor could supply. A thousand uneasinesses were felt, which were as unnatural as the pleasures that occasioned them. When the minds of the Troglodytes were thus relaxed, their bodies became weak. They now complained that the summer was too hot, and the winter too cold. They lost the use of their limbs, and were carried about on the shoulders of their slaves. The women brought their children with more pain, and even thought themselves too delicate to nurse them: they lost their beauty much sooner than before, and vainly strove to repair it by the help of art. Then first physicians were called in from foreign lands, to contend with a variety of new distempers which intemperance produced: they came; and the only advantage was, that those who had learned to live at a great expence, now found the secret of dying at a greater.

Such was the condition of the Troglodytes, when, by the benefit of a lasting peace, they tasted the sweets of plenty, and grew *polite*.

LETTER XVIII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

THE ancient Troglodytes were too busy in the duties and cares of society, to employ much of their thoughts in speculation. They were skilful in mechanics and agriculture, the only sciences for which they had any use. Experience taught them the properties of many medicinal herbs, roots, and plants, with which they cured the few ailments that they were subject to in their serene and temperate life.

At their leisure they amused themselves with music and poetry, and sung the praise of the Divine Being, the beauties of nature, the virtues of their countrymen, and their own loves. They shewed a wonderful force of imagination in a great number of fables which they invented, under most of which was concealed some moral sentiment: but for history, they contented themselves with some short accounts of public transactions, drawn from the memory of the oldest men among them, and writ without any art; having no party disputes, no seditions, no plots, no intrigues of state to record. The alteration of their government and manners produced a change also in this respect. A great many people withdrew themselves entirely from the offices of life, and became a burthen to their family and country, under a notion of study and meditation. One set of them very modestly undertook to explain all the secrets of nature, and account for her operations. Another left nature quite behind, and fell to reason about immaterial substances, and the properties of spirits. A third
professed

professed to teach reason by a rule ; and invented arguments to confute common sense *. These philosophers (for so they stiled themselves) were to be known from all mankind by a certain air, made up of bashfulness and presumption. To distinguish themselves from the vulgar, they forgot how to say or do one common thing like other men.

This rendered their behaviour very awkward, and they were conscious of it ; for which reason they came little into company : yet in private their pride swelled to such a pitch, that they imagined they were arrived at the very top of human merit, and looked down with contempt on the greatest generals and best servants of the state. Among the various speculations that this modern fashion of philosophizing produced, there were two more pernicious than the rest, and which greatly contributed to the corruption and ruin of the people. One was, that vice and virtue were in themselves indifferent things, and depended only on the laws of every country : the other, that there was neither reward nor punishment after this life.—It has already been observed how many defects the Troglodytes found in their laws, and how many quibbles were invented to elude them. But still there was some restraint upon their actions, while a sense of guilt was attended with remorse, and the apprehension of suffering in another state. But by these two doctrines men were left at perfect liberty to sin out of the reach of the law ; and virtue was deprived

* This passage is not to be understood as designing any reflexion upon men of *true learning*, but as a censure of the different kinds of *false learning* ; such as the subtilties of metaphysics and logic, and the natural philosophy of Descartes, and others, who presume to explain and account for all things by *systems* drawn out of their own imagination.

deprived of glory here, or the hopes of recompence hereafter. There was a third notion, less impious, indeed, but of very ill consequence to society, which placed all goodness and religion in a *recluse and contemplative way of life*.

The effect of this was, to draw off many of the best and worthiest men from the service of the public, and administration of the commonwealth, at a time when their labours were most wanted to put a stop to the general corruption—It is hard to say which was most destructive, an opinion that, like the former, emboldened vice, or such a one as rendered virtue impotent and useless to mankind—

L E T T E R XIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

WHILE the principles of the people were thus depraved, and their understandings taken off from their proper objects, the court became the centre of immorality and every kind of folly. Though flattery had been always busy there, yet the former kings, who were frequently at war, had been used to a certain military freedom, and there were not wanting men about them who had courage to tell them truth: but the effeminacy of the present set of courtiers took from them all spirit as well as virtue, and they were as ready to suffer the basest things, as to act the most unjust. The king, wholly devoted to his pleasures, thought it sufficient for him to wear the crown, without troubling himself with any of the cares and duties belonging to it. The whole exercise and power of the government was lodged in the hands of a grand vizir, the first of that title which the Troglodytes had ever known. It seemed

seemed very strange to them at the beginning, to see the royalty transferred to their fellow-subject; and many thought it was debasing it too much. The priests themselves were at a loss how to make out that this sort of monarchy was divine: however, they found at last, that the grand vizir was a god by office, though not by birth. If this distinction did not satisfy the people, the court and the priests were not much concerned about it.—But a prime minister was not the only novelty these times produced.

The Troglodytes had always been remarkable for the manner in which they used their women. They had a greater esteem for them than any other of the Eastern nations. They admitted them to a constant share in their conversation, and even entrusted them with their private affairs: but they never suspected that they had a genius for public business; and that not only their own families, but the state itself, might be governed by their direction. They were now convinced of their mistake. Several ladies appeared together at the helm: the king's mistress, the mistress of the vizir, two or three mistresses of the vizir's favourite officers, joined in a political confederacy, and managed all matters as they pleased. Their lovers gave nothing, and acted nothing, but by their recommendation and advice. Sometimes indeed they differed among themselves, which occasioned great confusion in the state. But by the pacific labours of good subjects, and the king's intercession, such unhappy divisions were composed, and business went quietly on again. If there was any defect in the politics of these female rulers, it was, that they could never comprehend any other point or purpose in the art of government but so much *profit to themselves*. The history of the Troglodytes has recorded some of their wise and witty sayings.

One

One of them was told, that, by the great decay of trade, the principal bank of the city would be broke. What care I? said she, I have laid my money out in land.

Another was warned, that if better measures were not taken, the Troglodytes threatened to revolt: I am glad to hear it, replied she; for if we beat them, there will some rich confiscations fall to me.

L E T T E R XX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

PAINFUL experience had, by this time, taught the Troglodytes what their fathers were too happy to suspect; that human nature was not perfect enough to be trusted with *unlimited* power: they saw an evident necessity of restraining that which had been given to their kings, as well for the dignity of the crown itself, as for the good of the commonwealth.

The whole nation unanimously concurred in this resolution; and that unanimity could not be resisted. They therefore considered by what means to reform their government, and did it with equal vigour and moderation. It was decreed, that the crown should be preserved to the prince then reigning, out of respect to the family he was of; but that he should wear it under certain limitations, which divided his authority with the senate.

To prevent the mischiefs that might arise from evil ministers, and the too great power of any favourite, they declared, that the ministers of the king were the servants of the people, and could not be protected by the court, if they were found disloyal to the nation.

Under

Under these wise regulations the shattered state recovered itself again : their affairs were managed with more discretion, and many public grievances were redressed. They thought, that in limiting their monarchy, they had cut the root of all their evils, and flattered themselves with a permanent felicity. But they quickly discovered that this new system was not without its inconveniencies. Very favourable opportunities were sometimes lost by the unavoidable slowness of their councils, and it was often necessary to trust more people with the secret of public business, than could be relied on with security. There were many evils which the nature of their government obliged them to connive at, and which grew, as it were, out of the very root of it. The abuse of liberty was inseparable, in many points, from liberty itself, and degenerated into a shameless licentiousness. But the principal mischief, attending on this change, was the division of the senate into parties. Different judgments, different interests and passions were perpetually clashing with one another : and by the unequal motion of its wheels, the whole machine went but heavily along.

Yet one advantage arose from this disorder, that the people were kept alert, and upon their guard. The animosities and emulation of particulars, secured the common-wealth : as in a seraglio, the honour of the husband is preserved by the malice of the eunuchs, and mutual jealousies of the women.

Upon the whole, the Troglodytes might have been happy in the liberty they had gained, if the same public spirit which established, could have continued to maintain it.

L E T-

LETTER XXI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE was in the senate a certain man of great natural cunning and penetration, factious, enterprising, versed in business, and above all, very knowing in the disposition of the times in which he lived. This man came secretly to the king, and entertained him with the following discourse.

‘ I perceive, Sir, you are very much cast down with the bounds that have been set to your authority: but perhaps you have not lost so much as you imagine.—The people are very proud of their own work, and look with great satisfaction on the outside of their new-erected government; but those who can see the inside too, find every thing too rotten and superficial to last very long.

‘ The two things in nature the most repugnant and inconsistent with each other, are the love of liberty, and the love of money. The last is so strong among your subjects, that it is impossible the former can subsist. I say, Sir, they are not HONEST enough to be FREE.—Look round the nation, and see whether their manners agree with their constitution. Is there a virtue which want does not disgrace, or a vice which riches cannot dignify? has not luxury infected all degrees of men amongst them? which way is that luxury to be supported? It must necessarily create a dependence, which will soon put an end to this dream of liberty. Have you a mind to fix your power on a sure and lasting basis? fix it on the vices of mankind: set up private interest against public; apply to the wants and vanities of particulars; shew those who lead the people, that they may better
‘ find

‘ find their account in betraying than defending
 ‘ them. This, Sir, is a short plan of such a con-
 ‘ duct as would make you really superior to all re-
 ‘ straint, without breaking in upon those *nominal se-*
 ‘ *curities*, which the Troglodytes are more attached
 ‘ to a great deal than they are to the things them-
 ‘ selves. If you please to trust the management to
 ‘ me, I shall not be afraid of being obnoxious to the
 ‘ *spirit of liberty* ; for in a little while I will extin-
 ‘ guish every spark of it : nor of being liable to the
 ‘ *justice* of the nation ; for my *crime* itself shall be
 ‘ my *protection*.’

LETTER XXII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is a very pretty, fair-complexioned girl, who lodges in a house over-against me. She was always staring at me from her window, and seemed to solicit my regards by a thousand little airs that I cannot describe, but which touched me still more than all her beauty. At last I became so enamoured of her, that I resolved to demand her in marriage. Accordingly I went to visit her in form, and was received by her mother, a widow gentlewoman, who desired very civilly to know my business.

Madam, said I, I have a garden at Ispahan adorned with the finest flowers in the East : I have the Persian jasmin, the Indian rose, the violet of Media, and the tulip of Candahar : but I have beheld an English lily more fair than all these, and far more sweet, which I desire to transplant into my garden. This lily, Madam, is now in your possession ; and I come a suppliant to you that I may obtain it. The old lady, not conceiving what I meant, began to as-
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sure me very faithfully that I was mistaken, for she had neither lily nor rose belonging to her.

The lily, returned I, is your lovely daughter, whom I come to ask of you for my wife.

What do you propose to settle on her? replied she. That is the first point to be considered.—

I will do by her very handsomely, answered I; I will settle upon her—*two black eunuchs*, an expert old midwife, and six or seven very adroit female slaves.

Two blacks, answered she, are well enough, but I should think *two French footmen* would be genteeler.

However, Sir, we will not quarrel about *her equipage*. The question is, What *provision* you think of making.—

Do not trouble yourself about that, returned I:—She shall have *meat* enough, I warrant you, plenty of *rice*, and the best *sherbet* in all *Persia*.

Do not tell me of *rice* and *sherbet*, said the old woman: I ask what *jointure* you will give her?

This word stopped me short; for I did not know what a *jointure* signified. At last she explained herself, by demanding of me, how her daughter was to live if I should die?

I have an Indian wife, answered I, that intends to *burn herself* as soon as I expire: but I would not recommend that method to your daughter.

How! said she,—you are married then already! Yes, said I, in *Persia* we are allowed to *take* as many women as we can *keep*: and some, I am sure, of the most fashionable men in *England* do the same, only leaving out *the ceremony*.

It is a very wicked practice, answered she:—but since it is your religion so to do, and that my daughter's *fortune* is too small to get a husband among Christians, I am not much averse to give her to you upon reasonable terms, because I am told you are very *rich*.

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She had scarce spoke these words, when my little mistress, who had been listening to our discourse behind the screen, came out from her concealment, and told her mother, ‘ That if so many women were
‘ to live together, she was sure there would be no
‘ peace in the family ; and therefore she desired her
‘ to insist on a good *pin-money* (that is to say, as the
‘ term was explained to me, a great *independent al-*
‘ *lowance*) in case her husband and she should *dis-*
‘ *agree.*’

What, said I, young lady, do you think already of *separating your* interests from *mine* ? and must I be obliged to pay my wife *for living ill with me*, as much as I should *for living well* ?

No——by Hali——I will never wed a woman who is so determined to *rebel* against her husband, that she *articles* for it in the very contract of her marriage.

L E T T E R XXIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

TH E R E is at London a native of Aleppo who has resided here some years as a private agent for some merchants of that city, and passes for a Jew. They call him Zabulon, but his true name is Abdallah, the son of Abderamen. He has revealed himself to me : and I have contracted a great intimacy with him. There never was an honefter, more friendly, or more valuable man : but he is as much a bigot to all the Eastern notions, and as much a stranger to every thing in England, as he was the first hour of his arrival. For my part, Mirza, I set out with a resolution to give up all my hereditary prejudices, and form my mind to bear different opinions, as my body to suffer different climates. Nay,
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if I may say so, I began my travels a good while before I went abroad, by reading, enquiring and reasoning, about the manners and institutions of other countries. I had lived long enough under the yoke of an arbitrary government, to see the misery of it, and value liberty. I am now come into an island where that liberty is happily established, and where I may learn to know it by its effects. This, Mirza, is the study that I pursue, and it demands the utmost attention I can give. In absolute monarchies all depends on the character of the prince, or of his ministers: and when that is known, you have little more to learn: but in mixed governments, the machine is more complex, and it requires a nicer observation to understand how the springs of it are disposed, or how they mutually cheque and assist each other.

When I talk to Abdallah on this subject, he tells me it is not worth my while to trouble myself about it: for that any form of government is good if it *be well administered*. But the question is, which is *most likely* to be *well administered*, that is, which has *best* secured itself, by wholesome provisions and restraints against the danger of a *bad administration*.

L E T T E R XXIV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

AS I was walking in the fields near this city the other morning, a disbanded foldier somewhat in years implored my charity, and, to excite my compassion, bared his bosom, on which were the scars of many wounds, all received in the service of his country. I gladly relieved his wants, and being desirous to inform myself of every thing, fell into discourse with him on the war in which he had served.

He told me he had been present at the taking of ten or twelve strong towns, and had a share in the danger and glory of almost as many victories. How then, said I, comes it to pass that thou art laid aside? thy strength is indeed in its decline, but not yet wasted; and I should think that experience would well supply the loss of youth. Alas! Sir, answered he, I have a good heart and tolerable limbs, but I want three inches more of stature: I am brave and able enough, thank God, but not quite handsome enough for a soldier.

How then didst thou serve so long, returned I? In Flanders, Sir, said he, there were some thousands such ill-looking fellows, who did very well in a day of battle, but would make no figure at a review.— Besides, I have no vote for any county, city, or borough in *England*; and therefore could not hope for preferment in the army, were I ever so *well made*. This last objection appeared to me very odd; but of all the novelties I have met with in Europe, none ever surprized me so much, as that a qualification for military service should be supposed to consist in smug looks, and a certain degree of tallness, more than experienced courage, and hardy strength.

If women were to raise and employ troops, I should not, indeed, much wonder at such a choice; but God grant our invincible sultan an army of veteran soldiers, though there were not a man among them above five feet high, or a face that would not frighten an enemy with the very looks of it!

LETTER XXV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is a set of people in this country, whose activity is more useless than the idleness of a monk. They are like those troublesome dreams which often agitate and perplex us in our sleep, but leave no impression behind them when we wake. I have sent thee an epitaph made for one of these *men of business*, who ended his life and labours not long ago.

Here lies ————— who lived threescore and ten years in a continual hurry. He had the honour of sitting in six parliaments, of being chairman in twenty-five committees, and of making three hundred and fifty speeches. He attended constantly twice a week at the levies of twelve different ministers of state; and writ for and against them one thousand papers. He composed fifty new projects for the better government of the church and state. He left behind him memoirs of his own life in five volumes in folio.

Reader, if thou shouldst be moved to drop a tear for the loss of so CONSIDERABLE A PERSON, it will be a SINGULAR favour to the deceased; for nobody else concerns himself about it, or remembers that such a man was ever born.

LETTER XXVI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Went with my friend the other day to a great hall, where all the courts of law were sitting together. Behold, said he, the temple of *justice*, the sanctuary

sanctuary of privilege and right, which our mightiest monarchs have not been able to violate with impunity. Behold the lowest of our commons contending here with the highest of our nobles, unawed by their dignity or power. See those venerable sages on the bench, whose ears are deaf to sollicitation, and their hands untainted with corruption. See also those twelve men, whom we call the *jury*, the great bulwark of our property and freedom. But then cast your eyes on those men in black that swarm on every side. These are the priests of the temple, who, like most other priests, have turned their ministry into a trade: they have perplexed, confounded, and encumbered law, in order to make themselves more necessary, and to drain the purses of the people.—I have heard, said I, that the laws of England are wisely *framed* and impartially *administered*. The old *Gothic* pile we are now in, replied my friend, will give you a just idea of their *structure*. The foundations of it are deep and very lasting; it has stood many ages, and with good repairs may stand many more; but the architecture is loaded with a multiplicity of idle and useless parts: when you examine it critically, many faults and imperfections will appear, yet upon the whole it has a mighty awful air, and strikes you with reverence. Then as to the administration of our laws, the difference between us and other countries is little more than this, that there they sell justice *in the gross*, and here we sell it *by retail*. In Persia the *cadi* passes sentence for a round sum of money: in England the judge indeed takes nothing, but the attorney, the advocate, every officer and retainer on the court, raise treble that sum upon the client. The condition of justice is like that of many women of quality: they themselves are above being bought, but every *servant* about them must be *feed*, or there is no *getting at them*. The disinterested spirit of the lady is of
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no advantage to the suitor ; he is undone by the rapine of *her dependants*.

LETTER XXVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I TOLD thee, in my last letter, a conversation I had with my friend upon the practice of law in this country. What is peculiar to us, continued he, in judicial proceedings is, that no *discretionary power* is lodged either in the judge or the jury ; but they are to direct and determine altogether by the *letter of the law*. In France, and other parts of Europe, the judge is trusted with such a power to vary from the law, in certain points, according to the dictates of his conscience, and the reason of the case : but in England, conscience, reason, right, and justice are confined to the words of the law, and the established meaning thereof. No doubt this is productive of many hardships : particulars must often suffer by it ; yet, in the main, it is a wholesome restraint, and beneficial to liberty : for it is generally found, that in other countries, where they are not so strictly tied down, the judge's conscience is apt to depend too much on the king's, and the rule of equity is a very uncertain measure, which passion, prejudice, or interest, can easily change.

These latter times have, indeed, a good deal departed from the ancient methods of judicature in matters of property, by encouraging applications to the *Chancery* ; which is a court of equity, where he, who presides in it, judges alone, without any jury, and with a much greater latitude than other courts : but whether more evil than good does not attend on this practice, may well be questioned. Thus much is certain, that causes are not *shortened* by it, though
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one might have expected *that advantage* from it at least. I have been told, said I, that whatever time they may take in passing through *that court*, they have often a further journey to make before they come to a final decision. It is true, replied he, they may be carried from thence by an appeal to the house of lords, who judge in the last resort. And if the constitution had not lodged there a judicature superior to that of the *chancellor*, so much of the property of the subject would entirely depend upon his opinion, that the parliament would have reason to put in again their claim to a right, which they demanded in the reign of Edward III, of *nominating this officer themselves*.

When an appeal, said I, is made to the lords, by what rules do *they* judge? If by no other than those of natural equity, I can then understand, that every Lord, who has common sense, may be supposed to be capable of such a judicature: but if they proceed by the rules of the courts below, and according to principles, usages, and determinations established *there*, that is a *science* of which few are capable; and in that sense they cannot be *judges born*. Two or three, at most, of their body would then have competent knowledge for the performing a duty, which the constitution of England expects from *all*. And when *so few* are to judge, their being too much *divided* in affection, or interest, at some junctures of time, at others their being too much *united*, might, I should think, have very bad consequences. But what if the chancellor himself should ever be *the only lord in the house* enough possessed of *that knowledge* to lead the rest? where would then be the use of appealing from his decrees? To this my friend answered nothing, and I thought that his silence wanted no explanation.

LETTER XXVIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

A FRENCH gentleman was boasting the other day, in a company where I was, of the academies founded by the late king for the support and reward of arts and sciences.

You have a pleasant way, said he, here in England, of encouraging a man of wit. When he is dead, you build him a fine tomb, and lay him among your kings; but while he is alive, he is as ill received at court, as if he came with a petition against the ministry. Would not the money you have laid out upon the monuments of two or three of your poets, have been better bestowed in giving them bread when they were living, and wanted it? This might have been formerly the case, replied the Englishman, but it is not so now. A man of true genius is at present so much favoured by the public, which is the best of all patrons, his works are so greedily bought up, and such regard is shewn him every way, that he has no need to depend upon a court for protection, or for subsistence.

And let me add, that the honours which are paid to a deceased man of wit, have something in them more generous and disinterested, than pensions bestowed on slavish terms, and at the price of continual panegyric. We have a *very great poet* now *alive*, who may boast of one glory to which no member of the French academy can pretend, *viz.* that he never flattered any man *in power*; but has bestowed immortal praises upon *those*, whom, for fear of offending men *in power*, if they had lived in France,

France, under the same circumstances, no poet there would have dared to praise.

L E T T E R XXIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is a *Christian* doctor, who at my first arrival here, took the trouble to visit me very often, with no other view, as I could find, but merely to make a *Christian* of me; in which design he has been single hitherto, such a zeal being very much out of fashion.

But, what is most extraordinary, I was told the other day, that his *preferment in the church* had been lately *stopped* at the instance of the *musti* of this city, on a supposition of his being turned *Mahometan*, and that all the proof brought against him was the commerce he formerly had with me.

When I heard this, I waited on the *musti*, and offered to testify that the doctor was a Christian, as far as I could judge by all I saw of him, during the time of our acquaintance: but he refused to admit my testimony in this case, because, as he said, I was myself a *misbeliever*, and insisted on the doctor's supposed *apostacy*, as an undoubted fact, which shocked him beyond measure.

If he is a *musulman*, said I, he must be *circumcised*. There is a *visible mark* of orthodoxy in our religion; but I should be glad to know what is the *visible mark* of yours. If it be *meekness*, or *charity*, or *justice*, or *temperance*, or *piety*, all these are most *conspicuous* in the *doctor*: but I find that none of these can *prove* him to be a *Christian*.—What therefore is

is the *characteristic* of his *accusers*? and *how* do they *prove* themselves to be *Christians* *?

LETTER XXX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE principles and practice of toleration prevail very strongly in this country: I myself have felt the effects of it very much to my advantage. The better sort of people are no more offended at the difference of my faith from theirs, than at the difference of my dress. The mob, indeed, seem surprized at me for both, and cannot comprehend how it is possible to make such mistakes, but they rather contemn than hate me for them: and I have yet been affronted by nobody but a drunken priest, who denounced damnation against me, for refusing to pledge him, *To the prosperity of the church of England*, in a liquor forbidden by our law.

This has not always been the temper of the English. They have formerly waged war against Mahometans, only because they were so; they have kindled fires against heretics, though what was heresy in one age has been orthodoxy in another: nay, they have involved their country in all the miseries of civil discord upon points of no greater moment, than whether a table ought to be placed in the middle of the church, or at one end of it.

I must own to thee, Mirza, there is nothing I abhor so much as persecution: it seems to me no less ridiculous in its principles, than dreadful in its effects.

* It is supposed this letter alludes to the objections made to the promotion of the late doctor Rundle.

fects. One would think, that the great diversity of opinions among mankind should incline men a little to suspect that their own may possibly be wrong, especially in disputes not very essential; but to pursue all others with rage and violence, instead of pity or persuasion, is such a strain of pride and folly as can scarce be accounted for from enthusiasm itself. I have read in a Spanish author of a certain madman who rambled about Spain with sword and lance, and whomsoever he met with in his way, he required to acknowledge and believe, that his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso was the handsomest woman in the world. It was in vain for the other to reply, that he had no knowledge at all of Dulcinea, or had a particular fancy to another woman; the madman made no allowances for ignorance or prejudice, but instantly knocked him down, and never left beating him till he promised to maintain the perfections of the said lady above all her rivals. Such has been the conduct of many priests and priest-ridden princes in propagating their *spiritual inclinations*: each had his several Dulcinea, and resolved that every body should admire her as much as himself; but as this was not easily brought about, the controversy was determined by force of arms. Nay, though it happened that all admired the same, they would even quarrel about the fashion of her cloaths, and most bloody battles have been fought to decide which colour became her best. Alas! Mirza, how absurd is all this! the beauty of true religion is sufficiently shewn by its proper lustre: it needs no knight-errant to combat for it; nor is any thing so contrary to the nature of affection as constraint. Whoever is compelled to profess a faith without conviction, though it was but indifferent to him before, must grow to think it odious: as men, who are forced to marry where they do not approve, soon change dislike into aversion.—I will end this subject with putting thee in mind of a ceremony which

which is celebrated once a year by the common people of Persia, in honour of our prophet Ali. There are two bulls brought forth before the croud, the strongest of which is called Ali, and the weaker Omar. They are made to fight, and as Ali is very sure to get the better, the spectators go away highly satisfied with this happy decision of the dispute between us and the heretical *Turks*.

Just in this light I regard all religious wars. Whether the combatants are two bulls or two bishops, the case is exactly the same, and the determination just as absurd.

L E T T E R XXXI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is nothing more astonishing to a Musulman than many particulars relating to the state of matrimony, as it is managed in Europe: our practice of it is so totally different, that we can hardly think it possible for men to do or suffer such things as happen here every day.

The following story, which was given me for a true one, will set this in a very full light: I wish thou mayest find it as entertaining, as I am sure thou wilt find it new.—

In the reign of Charles the first, king of England, lived two gentlemen, whose true names I will conceal under the feigned ones of Acasto and Septimius. They were neighbours, their estates lay together, and they had a friendship for each other, which had grown up from their earliest youth.

Acasto had an only son, whom we will call Polydore, and Septimius an only daughter, named Emilia. Though the boy was but fourteen years old, and the girl but twelve, the parents were so desirous of
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of contracting an alliance between their families and of uniting the two bordering estates, that they married them before either was of age to consummate the marriage, or even to understand the nature of their contract. As soon as the ceremony was performed, they sent the young gentleman abroad, to finish his education.

After four years which he had spent in France and Italy, he was recalled by the news of his father's death, which made it necessary for him to return to England.

Emilia, who was now about sixteen, began to think he had been absent long enough, and received him with a great deal of satisfaction. She had heard a fine character of him, from those who knew him in his travels: and when she saw him, his person was so improved that she thought herself the happiest of women in being his wife.

But his sentiments for her were very different.

There was in his temper a spirit of contradiction, which could not bear to have a wife imposed upon him.—He complained, that his father had taken advantage of his tender age, to draw him into an engagement, in which his judgment could possibly have no part. He confessed that he had no objections to the person or character of Emilia; but insisted on a liberty of choice, and declared, that he looked upon his marriage to be forced and null. In short, he absolutely refused to consummate, in spite of all the endeavours of their friends, and the conjugal affection of the poor young lady, who did her utmost to vanquish his aversion.—When she found that all her kindness was thrown away, the natural pride of her sex made her desire to be separated from him, and she joined with him in a petition for a divorce. The first parliament of the year *forty* was then sitting: the affair was brought before them, and it was believed, that a divorce would have easily been
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been obtained at their mutual demand. But the bishops opposed it with great violence, as a breach of the law of God, which they said would admit of no divorce, but in cases of adultery. They were answered, that the marriage was not *complete*; and that the ceremonious part, which was all that had past between them, might as properly be dispensed with by the legislature as any other form of law. That the young gentleman's aversion was *invincible*, and inconsistent with the obligation laid upon him: that therefore it would not well become the fathers of the church, to put him under a manifest temptation of committing adultery: and that nothing could be imagined more unjust, than to condemn the lady to perpetual virginity, under the notion of a marriage, which, it was plain, was a mere illusion.—These arguments seemed convincing to all the world, except the bishops; but they persisted in their *usual unanimity*, and were so powerful by the *favour* of the *court*, that they carried their point in the house of lords: and the unfortunate Polydore and Emilia were declared to be *one flesh*, though no union had ever been between them, either in body or in mind.—The husband immediately paid back his wife's portion to her father; and firmly resolved, that from that time forwards he would never see her more. His natural obstinacy was irritated by the constraint that was put upon him, and he took a pride to shew the world, that there was no power, ecclesiastical or civil, which could oblige him to act like a married man against his inclination. The poor lady retired to a seat of her father's in the country, and endeavoured, by long absence from her husband, to forget that he had ever pleased or offended her.—Two years afterwards the civil war broke out between the king and parliament. Polydore was so enraged against the bishops for obstructing his divorce, that it determined him in the choosing of his party, and made him

him take up arms against the king. Septimius, the father of Emilia, was as zealous a royalist, to which his hatred of Polydore contributed as much as any thing; for it was hardly possible that two such bitter enemies should be of the same side. In the course of the war, the king being worsted, the estates of many of his party were confiscated; and Septimius having been one of the most active, was also one of those that suffered most. He was compelled to retire into France with what he could save out of the wreck of his estate; and carried with him his daughter, who was quite abandoned by her husband and his family.

In the mean while, the army of the parliament began to form itself into different factions. Cromwell, at the head of the independents, acquired by degrees such an influence, that the Presbyterians were no longer a match for him: Polydore, who was devoted to that sect, threw up his commission in discontent; and happily for his reputation had no share in those violent proceedings, which ended in the destruction of the king, and the ancient constitution.

He continued quite unactive for some years; but at last growing weary of a life that agreed so ill with his vivacity, he determined to go and serve in the Low Countries under the great prince of Condé, who, in the year 1654, commanded the armies of Spain against his country.—Two reasons inclined Polydore to this party; first, the desire he had to learn his trade under a general of so great reputation: and, secondly, because Cromwell had refused to enter into an alliance with that prince, though most agreeable to the interests of England.—He found his highness employed in besieging Arras, and was received by him with high marks of esteem. During the siege he often signalized his courage, and supported the opinion

opinion that was spread all over Europe of the valour of the parliament officers: but the marshal Turenne, with La Ferté and Hoquincourt, having attacked the besiegers in their lines, relieved Arras, and would have destroyed the Spanish army, if the prince of Condé had not saved it by a retreat, which was one of the greatest actions of his life. In this battle Polydore was taken prisoner, and sent to Paris with many other Spanish officers, to continue there till they should be ransomed or exchanged. In the journey he contracted a great intimacy with the count de Aguilar, brigadier under the count de Fuensaldagna, and one of the first gentlemen in Spain. As they travelled together several days, they very naturally acquainted one another with the principal incidents of their lives. Polydore related to Aguilar the whole story of his marriage with Emilia, and declaimed with great heat against the folly of tying two people thus together, who wished nothing so much as to be loose.

No doubt, said the count, it is most absurd; but, to say the truth, I find nothing very reasonable in the whole affair of marriage as we have made it. I do not know what it may be to other men, but to me it seems horribly unnatural to be confined to any single woman, let her be ever so agreeable.

If I had *chosen* a woman *freely*, answered Polydore, I could be always constant to her with pleasure; but to have a companion *for life forced* upon me, I had rather row in the galleys than submit to it.

You are mistaken, my dear Polydore, replied the count, in fancying it so easy to be constant even to a wife of one's own chusing. I have had some experience of that kind, and know that the first choice is only good till we have made a second.

To prove this to you, I need only give you the history of my amours.—That you may not think I am telling you a romance, I will begin where ro-

mances always end, with the article of my marriage. I was married at four and twenty to a lady, whom I chose for her beauty and good sense, without troubling myself about her fortune, which was but small. The three or four first years that we lived together was the happiest period of my life: I preserved all the ardour of a lover with the freedom and tenderness of a husband. She loved me still more fondly than I did her; and if I had not left her till she gave me occasion, I believe I should have been constant to this day.—But I was not able to hold out any longer. All her charms were become so familiar to me, that they could not make the least impression: and I went regularly to her bed as I did to supper, with an appetite quite palled by too much plenty. In this dull way I drudged on for a tedious twelve-month, till the sight of a relation of my wife's, who came opportunely to lodge in my own house, roused me out of my lethargy. She was a beautiful creature of eighteen, just taken out of a convent to be married. She knew nothing of the world, but had a natural quickness that went further than experience. However, as there was something a little awkward in her exterior carriage, the countess d'Aguilar thought it proper to keep her with her for some time before her marriage, till she had instructed her how to behave herself *in public*. I thought my instructions might be of use to her as well as my wife's, to teach her how to behave *in private*, and had the good fortune to make them more agreeable.

She liked me better and better every lesson, and in proportion, as her passion increased for me, she conceived a stronger aversion for the man who was designed to be her husband: and indeed she had no great reason to be fond of him, for he was a peevish, stupid, bigotted old fellow, who did nothing day or night but pray and scold. Her friends pressed the

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conclusion of her marriage ; and, as unwilling as she was to come into it, she could not resist their importunities. Yet to comfort me, she very fairly let me know, that she would give her virginity to me in spite of all their teeth ; and moreover, that I should have it on the *wedding night*. I represented to her the improbability of her performing *such* a promise at *such* a time ; but she bid me trust to her management, and I should be satisfied.

The wedding night came ; and when the company was retired, the bridegroom was surprized to see the bride dissolved in tears. He begged to know the cause of her affliction ; but she would not tell him, except he swore, that, when he knew it, he would do his utmost to remove it.

The poor man, in the vehemence of his love, assured her that he would do any thing to make her easy, that was not contrary to the *honour of a cavalier*, or the *injunctions of our holy mother church*.

No, said she, the thing I require of you will recommend you extremely to the *church*, as it is only to give me leave to accomplish a vow I made to the Blessed Virgin, in a fit of sickness when my life was in great danger.

Heaven forbid, my pretty child, replied the don, that I should hinder you from performing a sacred vow, to the hazard of your soul.

Well then, said she, I will own to you, that in my fright I vowed, that if I could but get well again, and live to be married, I would consecrate my wedding night to the Blessed Virgin, by passing it in the bed of my waiting-woman, the virtuous Isabella. And this very morning while I slept, our Lady appeared to me in a dream, and threatened me with another fit of sickness if I did not keep my word.

If it be so, replied the husband, there is no doubt but *the Virgin* must be *served* before *me* ; and so, my dear, I wish you a good night.

Now you must know that the virtuous Isabella was trusted with all the secrets of her mistress, and had gone between us through the whole course of our amour.

Accordingly madam went to bed to her waiting-woman, who had taken care to inform me of this design, and concealed me in a closet within her chamber; from whence, as soon as every body was asleep, I was admitted to the place of Isabella, and received the full acquittance of a promise I little expected to see performed.—

The singularity of this adventure so delighted me, that I could not help, in the vanity of my heart, discovering it to the duke de l'Infantada, the most intimate of my friends. He was very thankful for the confidence I reposed in him, and to reward me for it, betrayed it instantly to my wife, whom, it seems, he had long made love to without success. As he thought that the greatest obstacle to his desires was her fondness for me, he hoped to remove it by convincing her of my falseness; but though the news of it had like to have broke her heart, it was not able to change it.

She reproached me in a manner that made my fault appear much more inexcusable. I might complain, said she, of the affront you have done my honour in debauching my relation; but, alas! I am only sensible to the injury you have done my love. You are grown weary of me, and I know it is impossible to regain your heart, since the single reason of your dislike must still continue, which is, that I am your wife. If any part of my behaviour had offended you, I might have changed it to your satisfaction; but this is a fault, which, in spite of all my care, will grow worse every day.—I endeavoured to pacify her by assurances of my future fidelity; and really I was so affected by her behaviour, that I seriously

riously meant to keep my word.—But our inclinations are very little in our power : my resolution soon yielded to the charms of the countess Altamira, one of the handsomest women about the court, but the vainest, the most interested, and the most abandoned. She made it a point of honour to seduce me, out of a desire to mortify my wife, with whom she had quarrelled upon some female competition of precedence or dress.

Her avarice was equal to her pride, and she made me pay dearly for her favours, though her husband was one of the richest men in Spain. I hardly ever went to her without a present of some kind or other, and my fortune began to suffer by my expence : yet I was so bewitched to her, that though I heartily despised her, I could not help loving her to madness.

One day, when I came to see her after an absence that had raised my desires to the highest pitch, she received me with a fullness and ill-humour that tortured me beyond expression. I conjured her to acquaint me with the cause of it, and she told me, ‘ That the last time she was at court, she had seen ‘ the countess d’Aguilar with a diamond necklace ‘ on, which I had given her the day before : that ‘ my making such presents to another woman, in ‘ the midst of our intrigue, was an insult she was ‘ determined not to bear ; and that since I was ‘ grown so fond a husband, she could not but make ‘ a conscience of disturbing our conjugal felicity.’

I offered her any satisfaction she would ask : and the malicious devil had the impudence to tell me, that nothing could satisfy her, but my taking away that necklace from my wife, and giving it her.—I entreated her to accept of another of twice its value ; but she replied, that her honour was concerned, and, in short, she would have that, and that alone. —Overcome with her importunities, I went home, and

and stole it from her ; but made her promise me solemnly to be very cautious that my wife should never see it in her possession.

About three days after, word was brought me, that the countess d'Aguilar had fainted away in the anti-chamber of the queen, and was gone home in great disorder to her mother the countess of Pacheco.

I went immediately thither in such a fright, as convinced me I loved her better than I thought I did : but imagine my confusion, when she informed me, that she had fainted at the sight of her own diamonds on the neck of the countess Altamira. She added, that it was no mystery to her, nor to any body else, how that lady came by them ; and that, to save her the mortification of any more such public affronts, she would no longer live with me as my wife, but leave me at liberty to please myself, as my licentious inclination should direct.

I used my utmost eloquence to prevail on her to come home to me again ; but she remained inflexible, and said no more to all my protestations, but, that if her past conduct had not been able to fix my heart, she despaired of doing it for the future.

After living without her half a year, I was ordered to my regiment in Flanders, and was very glad of an occasion to leave Madrid, where the regret of her separation was such a pain to me, that it entirely sunk my spirits. Since my arrival in the army, I have writ to her three or four letters, but she disdained to make me any answer ; and I have reason to believe, that her high spirit has, by this time, got the better of her love.

For my part, I endeavour to amuse myself the best I can with other women ; and I desire, my dear Polydore, that we may be always reciprocal confidants of every intrigue that we engage in during our stay in France.——

Polydore

Polydore thanked him, and assured him, that on his part he should meet with no reserve. When they came to Paris, his first care was to enquire what was become of Septimius and Emilia, whom he had heard no account of for many years. He was informed, that Septimius was dead, and his daughter gone from Paris. His curiosity made him write to his friends in England, to ask if she was there. They answered him, that every body believed she was dead in France, having received no news of her a great while. Polydore was mightily pleased with this account, and fancied himself very happy in being a widower, though he had given himself no trouble to support the character of a husband.—The two friends had not resided long at Paris, before they were exchanged for some French officers who were taken prisoners by the prince of Condé. They returned to the army ; but the season not permitting them to come to any action, they agreed to pass the winter at Brussels, in the court of the archduke. They had not been there above a month, before Aguilar acquainted his English friend, that he had begun an intrigue with a French lady, who lived in a very retired manner, which he believed was owing to her circumstances : that he had seen her two or three times, by means of a woman at whose house she lodged, whose good offices he had secured by a handsome bribe. He added, that he would carry Polydore to see her the next visit that he made. Accordingly they went together to Mademoiselle Dalincourt (for that was the name of Aguilar's new mistress). At their coming in, Dalincourt seemed much surprized, changed colour, and was not able to speak a word. The count, alarmed at her disorder, suspected some lover had been with her, and told her, with an air of discontent, that he was sorry he came at so wrong a time. She endeavoured to shake off her confusion, and replied, that he was
always

always very welcome : but that the gentleman he brought with him had so much resemblance of a brother of her's who was killed in Flanders, that, at first sight she could not help being struck with it in the manner they had seen : she added, that if the gentleman was as like her brother in mind, as he was in form, she should be mightily pleased with his acquaintance. She spoke this with such an air of sincerity, that the count began to think his jealousy was without foundation.

After some general discourse, she applied to Polydore, and asked him how long he had been engaged in the Spanish service ? with many other more particular enquiries, which seemed to intimate a desire to know him better. Polydore was very glad of it, in hopes to serve his friend : and the count, who had no suspicions on that side, did his utmost to engage them in a friendship which he imagined would turn to his advantage.

At night, when the two gentlemen were at home together, Aguilar asked his companion, what he thought of Dalincourt's person and understanding ? Better of the last than the first, answered he, though both are certainly agreeable. I cannot help thinking, continued he, that her person is not quite new to me ; but I cannot recollect where I met with her, except it was at Paris, when I was there a boy.—You will do well to improve your acquaintance now, replied the count ; and, to give you an opportunity of doing it, I will send you there to-morrow to make my excuses for being obliged to hunt with the archduke, instead of waiting upon her as I intended. I know, my dear Polydore will employ all his wit and eloquence to set his friend's passion in the best light ; and while he is with her, I shall have less uneasiness in being away. Polydore promised him all the services he could do him, but he wished he had got a mistress too, to make the party even.

The

The next day he went to her, and said a great deal in praise of Aguilar, to discover what she thought of him. She answered him with terms of cold esteem, but nothing that gave him the least encouragement to believe she was in love. He then endeavoured to persuade her of the violence of the count's passion for her; but she assured him, that this was the only subject she did not care to hear him talk of.——He returned to his friend quite discouraged at her manner of proceeding, and told him there was nothing to be hoped for. The count shewed him a letter he had just received from his confidant, the lady of the house; which advised him not to think of gaining Dalincourt by a timorous respect; but to offer her a handsome settlement, which the straightness of her fortune would make her listen to much more kindly than she did to his fine speeches.

This indeed may do something, said Polydore; for I found by her discourse, that she had been reduced, by a series of misfortunes, to a condition very much beneath her birth.——In conclusion, they agreed to make a trial whether she was to be bought or not; and Polydore was made the bearer of a letter which contained a very liberal proposal. She read it, looked at Polydore some time without saying a word, and at last burst into a flood of tears.

I thought, said she, recovering her voice, that it had not been in the power of my ill destiny to make me more unhappy: but I now find, that my misfortunes have sunk me lower than ever I was aware of, since two gentlemen, whose esteem I wished to gain, think so meanly of me, as to imagine me a proper person to receive *such a letter*. But know, Sir, that I am as much a stranger to infamy, as I am to happiness; and have a spirit superior to all the wrongs your insolent sex can put upon me. Had
not

not you disgraced yourself by the scandalous employment of endeavouring to seduce me with a dirty bribe, I should have been happy in seeing you often here; but must now desire you to trouble me no more, and to tell your friend, as my answer to his letter, that I would sooner *give* myself to a footman, than *sell* myself to a prince.——

Polydore was infinitely struck with this reception. Every word she uttered pierced him to the heart; and he looked upon her as a miracle of virtue, such as he never had any notion of before.——He returned to the count in great confusion, and acquainted him with the ill success of his commission. Aguilar, more in love with her than ever, writ a most submissive letter to beg her pardon; but she instantly sent it back unopened. When he found all his courtship was ineffectual, he left Brussels in despair, and retired to a villa of one of his friends, where he resolved to stay till the opening of the campaign. In the mean while Polydore, who continued still at Brussels, was in a situation little easier than his friend. Mademoiselle Dalincourt took up all his thoughts: he repeated to himself a thousand times the last words he heard her speak, and admired the spirit that appeared in them to a degree of adoration.

Not being able to bear her absence any longer, he sent to beg that he might see her once again, upon a business wholly relating to himself. She admitted him, and began the conversation, by strictly forbidding him to name the count in any thing he had to say to her.——I have no inclination to name him, replied he; for I would willingly forget that I ever knew him. I am sensible that I wrong him, in declaring to you, that I love you more than life: yet, as his passion is quite destitute of hope, why should not I solicit you for a heart to which he has no pretensions? but, be my conduct right or not in regard

gard to him ; to you, madam, it shall ever be most honourable. I come to offer you my whole fortune upon such terms as your virtue need not blush at. I am a widower, and free to marry whom I please : my estate is sufficient for us both, and I am happy to think it in my power, to raise you to that rank which you were born to. This, madam, is the only reparation by which I can atone for the affront I did your character ; and, if you refuse to accept of it, my despair will be equal to my love.

The lady answered him with blushes, that she was highly sensible of the sentiments he expressed for her ; that she liked his person, and admired his understanding ; but that, to her misfortune, she was married already, and therefore could say nothing to his proposal.——Good heavens, cried Polydore, you are married ! and who then is your husband ! The most unworthy of mankind, answered she : one, who has abandoned me to the malice of my fortune, and does not know at this time what is become of me, nor trouble himself about it.——He is, indeed, unworthy, replied the lover, who is possessed of such a treasure, and can neglect it. But, madam, employ me in your revenge : command my sword to pierce the monster's heart, and tear it from his bosom.——No, said she, your safety is more dear to me than the desire of revenge. All I ask of you is, to swear that you will never be like that husband ; but continue to love me equally when you know me better : upon this condition, I will grant you all the favours which my duty will allow ; and, perhaps, your future conduct may prevail upon me to throw off all restraint.

The happy Polydore swore every thing she desired, and she permitted him to see her when he pleased ; but, being informed by him of the treachery of her friend at whose house she lodged, they agreed to make their appointments at another place.

They

They continued this commerce for some time without any interruption, till the count d'Aguilar had notice of it from his confidant, who perceived it in spite of all their caution.

Never was rage equal to his at this discovery. He writ to Polydore, reproaching him with his breach of friendship in the bitterest terms, and required him to meet him with his sword behind the walls of a nunnery that was situated about two leagues out of Brussels. Polydore accepted of the challenge, and met him at the place appointed: he attempted to justify himself, but the count had not the patience to hear him out. They fought with great fury a good while, till the fortune of Polydore prevailed, and the count fainted away with the loss of blood from two or three wounds which he had received. The other seeing him fall thought him dead, and made off with the utmost precipitation. Just at that instant came by a coach and six, which was driving towards the nunnery: a lady who was in it, seeing a gentleman lye weltering in his blood, stopped her coach, and went to try if she could assist him. At the sight of the face she fetched a scream, and fell upon the body in a swoon. Her servants, concluding it to be some one she was much concerned for, carried them both into the nunnery, where the lady soon came to herself, and the count also began to shew signs of life, his spirits being agitated by the motion. He was immediately put to bed, and a surgeon sent for, who declared his wounds to be dangerous, but not mortal. While they continued uncertain of his cure, the lady who brought him into the nunnery waited constantly, day and night, at his bedside, and nursed him with a care that would not yield to a moment of repose. As her face was also covered with a veil, he took her to be one of the nuns, and was astonished at a charity so officious. When he grew better, his curiosity en-
creased,

creased, and he ardently pressed her to let him know to whom he owed such great obligations. Are you a nun, madam? said he: I hope you are not; for it would afflict me infinitely, if I was never to see you more, after leaving a house where you have done me so many favours. — The lady for whom you fought, answered she, will make you soon forget the loss of me; and though I am not a nun, you will never see me out of the limits of these walls.

How, madam! said he, was you not *out* of them, when you found me on the ground, and saved my life?

Yes, replied she; I was returning from a visit to a convent in the town: but I will take care not to stir from hence while you are at Brussels, because you are the man in the world I would avoid.

This speech so surprized him, that for some time he was not able to make her any answer. At last he told her, that her actions and her words entirely disagreed, and that he could not think himself so hateful to her as she said, when he reflected how kindly she had used him.

These riddles shall be cleared up to you, answered she, when you are perfectly recovered: till then content yourself with knowing that I cannot hate you, but am as much determined to avoid you, as if I could.

Thus ended a conversation which left the count in a perplexity not to be described.

He saw her no more for a few days; but when she heard that his strength was quite returned, she came to him one morning, and spoke thus:

‘ If you will know who she is that was so afflicted
 ‘ when your life was in danger; that nursed you so
 ‘ carefully in your illness; and is resolved to quit
 ‘ you for ever when you are well; think of your
 ‘ former gallantries at Madrid, of your present
 ‘ passion for a mistress that despises you, and your
 ‘ ingra-

‘ ingratitude to a wife that always loved you : think
 ‘ of all this, and you will not wonder any longer at
 ‘ my actions or my words.—Yes, Aguilar, I am that
 ‘ wife, whose fate it is to be acquainted with all
 ‘ your infidelities, and to smart for all your follies.’

As she said this, she lifted up her veil, and shewed the astonished count a well-known face, which he little expected to have seen in Flanders. All the passions that can agitate the heart of man, shame, remorse, love, gratitude, invaded his in that moment. He threw himself at her feet, and with many tears implored her to forgive him.

She raised him, and assured him of her pardon, nay, more, of her affection : ‘ But my person,’ said she, ‘ I am determined shall be ever separated
 ‘ from you. I have had too many proofs of your
 ‘ inconstancy, to hope that any obligations can engage
 ‘ you : you will never be faithful to me alone, and I
 ‘ disdain to share you with another. It is happiness
 ‘ enough for me that I have been the instrument of
 ‘ preserving your life, though you risked it for the
 ‘ sake of another woman ; and all the return I ask
 ‘ of you is, to think of me sometimes with kindness, but never to attempt to see me more.’

Aguilar was on the rack to hear her talk in so resolute a stile ; but he flattered himself it was owing to her jealousy of mademoiselle Dalincourt. Being impatient to make her easy on that head, he dispatched one of his servants with a letter to acquaint that lady with his recovery. He begged her earnestly to come to him at the *nunnery*, and if possible to bring her lover along with her. Polydore had absconded a few days, till he heard that the count was out of danger, after which he continued very publicly his addresses to Dalincourt.

While the messenger was bringing them to the *nunnery*, Aguilar demanded of his wife, by what accident she came into Flanders ?

You

You know, said she, that after my discovery of your amour with the countess Altamira, I retired to my mother's house, and remained there till your departure for the army.

Soon afterwards, I had the misfortune to lose my mother; and what particularly aggravated my grief, was the knowledge that her concern at your ill usage of me had hastened her death.

These afflictions made Madrid so uneasy to me, that I could not bear to stay in it any longer. Luckily about that time I received a letter from my cousin donna Eugenia de Montalegre, a religious of this house, to inform me of her being elected abbess. It instantly occurred to me, that no place could be more proper for my retreat, than a monastery of which she was the head: so, as soon as I could settle my affairs, I left Spain, and put myself into a pension under the government of donna Eugenia; in which manner I have lived ever since.

She had scarce finished this account, when they were interrupted by the arrival of Polydore and Dalincourt. Madam d'Aguilar changed colour at the sight of her; but her husband, embracing Polydore, assured him, that he no longer looked upon him as a rival, but was glad to resign his mistress to a friend who so well deserved her. Then he related to him the manner in which his wife had tended and preserved him, and expressed so much gratitude, so much love, that if any thing could have shaken her resolution, this would certainly have done it. Mademoiselle Dalincourt seemed much affected at this relation, and told the countess, she was infinitely concerned that she had been the innocent cause of her husband's danger; but that she hoped this accident would be a means of making them happy for the future, and put an end to his infidelities and her resentment.

My

My happiness too, added she, is now at stake ; and I have need of your friendship to support me in a discovery which I tremble to begin, but which, in justice to my honour, I am obliged to delay no longer.

At these words she kneeled down, and taking hold of Polydore's hand : ' Behold,' said she, ' my dear husband, in that Dalincourt, whom you have sworn to love eternally, behold your wife Emilia, that Emilia, whom you left a bride and a virgin at sixteen ; whom you imagined dead, and who will not live a moment, if you refuse to acknowledge and receive her.—

' You cannot now complain that I am a wife imposed upon you ; you chose me freely out of pure inclination ; our parents had nothing to do in it ; love only engaged us, and from love alone I desire to possess you. This is my claim ; and if you are willing to allow it, I am blessed to the height of all my wishes.'

Polydore gazed on her with a silent admiration. He examined every feature over and over, then throwing his arms round her neck, and almost stifling her with kisses : ' Are you really Emilia (cried he), and have I confirmed my former marriage by a *new choice*, by a *choice* which I never will depart from, and which makes me the happiest of men ? O my angel, what wonders do you tell me ! how is it possible that I find you here at Brussels, when I thought you in your grave ? Explain all this to me, and let me know how much I wronged you formerly, that I may try to repair it all by my future conduct.'

Count Aguilar and his lady joining with him in a desire to know her history, she related it as follows.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
POLYDORE AND EMILIA.

YOU may remember, Polydore, that as soon as we were parted, I went to live in the country with my father, being ashamed to appear in public after the affront your capricious aversion had put upon me.

My pride was deeply wounded ; but, with shame I own it, my love was the passion that suffered most. I was bred up to consider you as my husband ; I had learned to love you from a child, and your person was so wonderfully agreeable, that I could not look upon you with indifference : nay, such was my partiality in your favour, that I could not help admiring you for your spirit in asserting the freedom of your choice, and justified you in my heart for a proceeding which openly I was obliged to disapprove. In this wretched state of mind I remained some years, till the unfortunate event of the civil war deprived my father of his estate, and drove him out to seek refuge in a foreign country. We settled at Paris, where, with three or four thousand pounds, which we found means to carry off, part in money, and the rest of it in jewels, we maintained ourselves

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well

well enough in a private way, which pleased my melancholy better than any other. In this retreat, where we saw no company, but two or three French women that lodged in the house with us, I amused myself with learning the French tongue, which I had some knowledge of before I came to France; and by speaking nothing else for three or four years, I became so very perfect in it, that it was difficult to discover by my accent that I was not born at Paris. I mention this, because it has since been of use to me, in making me pass more easily upon you for the French woman I personated.—The third year of our residence at Paris, my father became acquainted with a widow-lady, the true madam Dalincourt, whose name has since made full amends for my injuries I have to charge her with in the sequel of my story. This woman was a native of Brabant, but married a French gentleman, who dying young left her in very narrow circumstances. She had a sister much younger than herself, but not so handsome, who lived with her at Paris.

My father was at that time near threescore, and the widow turned of forty; yet her charms were still powerful enough to engage him in a passion for her, which nothing but dotage could excuse. It went so far that she drew him in to marry her, and to settle upon her three thousand pounds, leaving me no more than the worth of my own jewels, which scarce amounted to a thousand. But her avarice was not satisfied with all this. There was a French nobleman who had long courted me for a mistress, and not finding me so complying as he wished, thought the best way was to buy me of my mother-in-law, whom he knew to be capable of such a bargain. He offered her a present of two thousand crowns to introduce him by night to my apartment. The wicked creature accepted of his bribe, and taking her opportunity

portunity when my father was gone into the country, brought him late one night into my chamber, where she imagined he would find me fast asleep. But it happened that I and mademoiselle Du Fresne, the sister of Dalincourt, had been engaged in reading a romance, which kept us up beyond our usual hour; and as her room was on the other side of the house, not to disturb the family in passing through, she went to bed with me. The romance ran so strongly in my head that I could not sleep for thinking of it; and perceiving that the moon shone very brightly, I got up, slipped on a night-gown, and went out to take a walk in a little garden that lay contiguous to my chamber. I had not been there above half an hour before I heard Du Fresne call out for help; and coming in to her assistance, saw my lover struggling with her at such advantage, that I was almost afraid I came too late. I joined my cries to hers, and the noise we made so alarmed the marquis, that he thought it best to retire as soon as possible; especially when he discovered his mistake, and that my infamous mother-in-law had put him to bed to her own ugly sister instead of me.

But, to be revenged of her for what he took to be a design of imposing upon him, he revealed to us the part she had in this affair, and bid me tell her, that he did not think the enjoyment of mademoiselle Du Fresne worth a quarter of the money he had given her.—After making this confession he went off, and was hardly got safe out of the house, when two or three of our servants came in to us to know what was the matter. The story soon reached my father's ears; and I was so angry at my step-mother for her intention against my honour, that, in the heat of my passion, I told him all that the marquis had revealed, and Du Fresne confirmed it; which imprudence we had both reason to repent of.

My father was so shocked and afflicted at it, that it threw him into a fever, which proved mortal. He was no sooner dead, but his loving widow turned her sister and me out of doors, and it was with great difficulty that I carried off my money and necessary apparel. In this distress, which was the greatest I ever knew, Du Fresne proposed to me to go with her to Brussels, where she had an old aunt whom she expected something from, and that would be willing to receive us. I gladly accepted of her proposal, my spirit being too high to return to England in the condition I was reduced to. When we came to Brussels we found that her aunt was dead, but had left her the best part of what she had, which amounted to a reasonable subsistence. We agreed that I should board with her under the name of mademoiselle Dalincourt, and pretend I was a relation of her former brother-in-law; she not caring to say any thing of the alliance, which had been attended with such ill consequences to us both. Upon this foot I lived with her very quietly, till the count d'Aguilar found me out, and, by corrupting my mercenary friend, obtained more frequent access to me than I desired.

You remember the disorder I was in when he brought you first to see me. I knew you instantly; for my love had traced your image too strongly in my mind to be effaced by any length of time; whereas your indifference quickly made you lose all memory of me, and the alteration of almost fifteen years had changed my person entirely from what it was when you saw me last.—I thought I should have died with the surprise, and was going, as soon as I could speak, to discover myself to you; but perceiving that you did not remember me, I checked myself, and invented a pretence to cover my confusion. It struck me, that I might possibly make some advantage of the disguise in which you saw me :

me : at least, I was sure of the satisfaction of conversing with you freely, and knowing what had happened to you since our parting. When you came to me again as the confidant of the count d'Aguilar, it was no small revenge and pleasure to me, to see you ignorantly helping another man to debauch your own wife ; and I could have found in my heart to have let you succeed in your friendly mediation, as a punishment for the injuries you had done me : but my virtue soon rejected that temptation, and thought of nothing but how to gain your esteem.

When you brought me the base proposal of count Aguilar, it appeared to me such a mark of your contempt, that I fully resolved not to see you any more. But when you expressed a repentance of that fault, and declared a respectful passion for me, even to the offering me marriage, I yielded to the dictates of my love, and admitted you to all freedoms but one. That I told you your future conduct might obtain ; and I believe, said the blushing, you will hardly now have the same reluctance to accept it as you had formerly. But though I had thus engaged you by your promise, and still more by your inclination, my happiness was far from being fixed. While the name of Emilia was concealed, I could not tell how the knowledge of it might affect you. It was still in your power to make me miserable, by being angry with my innocent deceit ; but since you have been so good to approve it, and acknowledge me for your wife, I shall make it my whole study and ambition to deserve that title, and never think of my past misfortunes, but to enhance my present happiness.

Thus Emilia ended her narration, and received the compliments of Count Aguilar and his Lady, who both expressed the highest joy at her good fortune.

Polydore, on his side, endeavoured to persuade the Countess to follow the example of Emilia, and be reconciled

reconciled to her husband. She answered him coldly, that she had had too much experience of the temper of the count, to trust to a sudden fit of fondness, which would wear itself out in a few months: that she was neither so young, nor so handsome now, as before their separation; how then could she flatter herself, that he would like her better when she was really less amiable? that what she had done for him might secure his esteem, but she had received abundant proof that his esteem could but ill secure his love. I know, said she, the weakness of my heart: were I to live with him again, I should be jealous of him, even though he did not give me cause; and that would certainly make us both unhappy. It is better for me to leave him to his pleasures, and endeavour to secure my own tranquillity, by retiring from a world which I am unfit for.

Polydore, finding it in vain to argue with her, and admiring the greatness of her mind, took his leave of the count, and returned to Brussels, where his marriage with Emilia was *consummated almost twenty years after it was contracted.*

LET-

LETTER XXXII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I WENT yesterday with one of my acquaintance to see a friend of his, who has a house about twenty miles from London. He had formerly been a citizen and tradesman, but growing rich on a sudden by some lucky hit in the more profitable trade of stock-jobbing, he as suddenly set up for a judge in architecture, painting, and all the arts which men of quality would be thought to understand, and built this house as a specimen of his learning. When we came in, though it was in the midst of winter, we were carried into a room without a fire-place; and which *looked*, if possible, still colder than it *felt*. I suppose, said I, this *stone-vault* that we are in, is designed to be *the burying-place* of the family; but I should be glad to see the rooms in which they *live*, for the chilness of these walls is insupportable to a Persian constitution.

I see, said my companion, that you have *no taste*, or else you could not be cold in a *saloon* so beautiful as this.

Before I had time to make him any answer, the master of the house came in; but, instead of carrying us to a fire, as I hoped he would, he walked us about all his vast apartments, then down into the offices under ground, and last into a garden, where a north-east wind, that blew very keen from off a *beath* to which it was laid open, finished what the *saloon* had begun, and gave me a cold, which took away my voice in the very instant that I was going to complain of what he made me suffer. At length we ended our observations, and sat down to dinner, in
a room

a room where, by good fortune, the rules of architecture allowed us to be warm : but when the meat was served, I was in great confusion not to know how to ask for any dish of all I saw before me ; for it seems the gentleman ate in the *French way*, and nothing came up to his table in its natural form. My uneasiness was still greater, when, upon tasting of five or six different compositions, I found they were all mixed with the flesh of * hogs, which I could not touch without pollution.

After losing my dinner in this manner, I was entertained all the evening with a conversation between the gentleman of the house and another man (who, they told me, was an architect) so stuffed with hard words and terms of art, that I could not understand one part in five of it. They talked much of certain men called, *virtuosi*, whom, by the near relation their title bore to *virtue*, I took at first to be a *sect of rigid moralists* : but, upon enquiry, I discovered that they were a company of *fiddlers, eunuchs, painters, builders, gardeners* ; and, above all, gentlemen that had *travelled into Italy*, who immediately came home perfect *virtuosi*, though they went out *the dullest fellows* in the world. This order of men, which is pretty numerous (as I could collect from the discourse of *these two adepts*) assume a sort of *legislative authority* over the body of their countrymen : they bid one man pull down his house, and build another, which he can neither pay for, nor inhabit ; they take a dislike to the furniture of a second, and command him to change it for a different one more expensive and less commodious ; they order a third to go and languish at an *opera*, when he had rather be hallooing in a bear-garden : it is even feared they will take
upon

* Larded.

upon them to decide what sort of woman every man shall be *in love with*, and prescribe a particular colour of eyes and hair for the only object of *universal inclination*.

I desired to be informed whether *this jurisdiction* had been *ancient* in this kingdom, having met with no traces of it in history ?

No, said he, it is so *modern*, that all the laws of it are changed once in seven years ; and that which before was the *only thing right*, becomes at once a *high crime and misdemeanor*.

Upon the whole, it appears to me to be a kind of *epidemical madness*, and I am afraid to return to my own country, for fear I should carry it with me thither, as those who have been in Italy bring the infection along with them into England.

LETTER XXXIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is a lady's house where I often pass my time, though I have very little intimacy with her ; because it is really being in a *public place*, and making a visit to half the town. The first time I went thither I congratulated her on the prodigious number of her friends, and told her, that she must certainly be possessed of most extraordinary perfections, to attract such a variety of people, and please them all alike. — But I soon found that, in all that croud of visitants, there was hardly one who came thither on her account, but that their reason for coming was the same as hers for receiving them, because they had nothing else to do.

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The last time I was there I met a gentleman, whose character I was still a stranger to, though I was very well acquainted with his face.

I want to know (said I to a lady who sat next me) what is the merit of that gentleman over-against us, which recommends him so much to all the world? It seems to me that he does nothing, says nothing, means nothing, and is nothing; yet I always see him in good company!

His character, said she, may be comprehended in very few words—he is a *good-natured man*.

I am mighty glad to hear it, returned I, for I want such a man very much: there is a friend of mine in great distress, and it lies in his power to do him service.

No, said she, he is of too indolent a temper, to give himself the trouble of serving any body.

Then what signifies his *good-nature*? answered I; or how do you know that he *has any*?

During this dialogue between us, the rest of the company had turned their discourse wholly upon scandal; and few reputations were spared by them, that were *good* enough to be thought *worth attacking*.

The *good-natured* man sat silently attentive, and with great humanity let them abuse his absent friends, as much as they thought fit.

When that was over, he began to entertain us with his sorrow for the death of a noble person, who, he said, had been his patron and benefactor: but methought, he talked of it mightily *at his ease*; and the lady, who had given me his character, whispered me, that, notwithstanding his obligations and love to *the deceased*, he was now making court to *his* worst enemy, as obsequiously as he ever had to *him*.

At that instant there came in a certain colonel, who, as soon as he saw my gentleman, ran up to him,

him, and embracing him very tenderly, my dear Jack, said he, thou shalt be *drunk* with me to-night. —

You know I have been ill, said the other gently, and *drinking* does not agree with me.

No matter for that, replied the colonel, you must positively be drunk before you sleep; for I am disappointed of my company, and will not be reduced either to drink by myself, or to go to bed sober.

The *good-natured man* could not resist such obliging solicitations: he kindly agreed to the proposal, and all the room expressed their apprehensions, that his *good-nature* would be the death of him some time or other.

LETTER XXXIV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I HAD, last night, so extraordinary a dream, and it made such an impression upon my mind, that I cannot forbear writing thee an account of it.

I thought I was transported, on a sudden, to the palace of Ispahan. Our mighty lord was sitting on a throne, the splendor of which my eyes could hardly bear: at the foot of it were his *emirs*, and great officers, all prostrate on the ground in adoration, and expecting their fate from his commands. Around him stood a multitude of his guards, ready to execute any orders he should give, and striking terror into the hearts of all his subjects. My soul was awed with the majesty of the scene; and I said to myself, can a king of England compare himself to this? can he, whose authority is confined within the narrow bounds of law, pretend to an equality with a monarch, whose power has no limits but his will?

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I had scarce made this reflection, when, turning my eyes a second time towards the throne, instead of the *sopbi*, I saw an *eunuch* seated there, who seemed to govern more despotically than he. The *eunuch* was soon changed into a woman, who also took the *tiara* and the sword. To her succeeded another, and then a third: but, before she was well established in her seat, the captain of the guards that stood around us marched up to the throne and seized upon it. In that moment I looked and beheld the *sopbi* lying strangled on the floor, with his *vizir* and three of his *sultanas*. Struck with horror at this spectacle, I left the palace, and going out into the city, saw it abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, who pillaged all its riches, and cut the throats of the defenceless inhabitants. From thence I made my escape into the country, which was a waste uncultivated desert, where I found nothing but idleness and want.

O, said I, how much happier is England, and how much greater are its kings! Their throne is established upon justice, and therefore cannot be overturned. They are guarded by the affections of their people, and have no military violence to fear. They are the most to be honoured of all princes, because their government is best framed to make their subjects rich, happy, and safe.

LETTER XXXV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I HAD some discourse to-day with an English gentleman, who has an affectation of being thought a great *philosopher*: his pretensions to it consist in nothing else but refining away all the happiness of his life. By a great force of reasoning, he is arrived at a total *disrelish* of *himself*, and as complete an *indifference* to *others*. I am quite weary of living, said he to me: I have gone through every thing that bears the name of pleasure, and am absolutely disgusted with it all. I have no taste for the common amusements of wine, women, or play, because I have experienced the folly of pursuing them: and as for business, it appears to me to be more *ridiculous* than any of the three. The bustle of the town disturbs my quiet, and in the country I am dying of the spleen. I believe I shall go with you into Persia, only to change the scene a little; and when I am tired of being there, take a dose of *opium*, and remove to the other world.

I hope, Mirza, that thou and I shall never know what it is to be *so wise*; but make the best of those comforts and delights which nature has kindly bestowed upon us, and endeavour to diffuse them as wide as possible, by the practice of those virtues from which they flow.

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LETTER XXXVI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is another gentleman of my acquaintance, who is a *philosopher*, but of a species very different from him I described to thee in my last.

He is possessed of a considerable estate, which his friends are as much masters of as he. His children love him out of a principle of *gratitude*, by far more endearing than that of *duty*; and his servants consider him as a *father*, whom it would be *unnatural* for them not to *obey*.

His tenants are never hurt by drought or rain, because the goodness of their lord makes amends for the inclemency of the sky.

The whole country looks *gay* about his dwelling, and you may trace all his footsteps by his bounties.

Is it not strange (I have often heard him say) that men should be so delicate as not to bear a *disagreeable picture* in their houses, and yet force every *face* they see about them to wear a cloud of uneasiness and discontent? Is there any object so pleasing to the eye, as the sight of a man whom you have obliged, or any music so agreeable to the ear, as the voice of one that owns you for his benefactor?

He has also a deep sense of religion; which is so far from casting a gloom over his mind, that it is to *that* chiefly he owes his constant serenity. Were there no reward (said he to me in our last conversation) for virtue after this life, a wise man would practise it for its own beauty and reasonableness

here:

here : yet the wisest man in that case might be unhappy from the perversity of accidents ; but he who adds to the *pleasures* of *virtue*, the *hopes* of *religion*, has no excuse for sinking under any misfortune ; and without the extravagance of philosophical pride may always find a resource in his mind as much superior to all human events, as the infinite extent of eternity is beyond the short bounds of human duration.

Such are the notions of this man concerning *happiness* ; and it is probable they are not very *wrong*, for he himself is never *out of humour*, nor is it possible to be so *in his company*.

LETTER XXXVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I WENT last night with my friend to see a lady, whose house is the favourite resort of the most agreeable people of both sexes. The lady herself received me with a good breeding, which I found was the result of good sense : she treated me as a *stranger* that came *to see*, not like a *monster* that came to be *seen* ; and seemed more desirous to appear in a good light herself to me, though a Persian, than to set me in a ridiculous one to her company. The conversation turned upon various subjects, in all which she bore a considerable, but not a petulant or overbearing part ; and with modesty shewed herself a mistress of most of the living languages, and not unacquainted with ancient and modern history.

The rest of the company had their due share of the conversation, which was carried on with spirit and good manners. One gentleman in particular dis-

distinguished himself by the superiority of his wit, accompanied with so much delicacy and politeness, that none who heard him felt themselves hurt by that *pre-eminence*, which he alone seemed not to be conscious of.

His wit was all founded on good sense ; it was wit which a Persian could comprehend as easily as an Englishman ; whereas most that I have met with from other men, who are ambitious of being admired for that accomplishment, is confined not only to the taste of their own countrymen, but to that of their own peculiar set of friends. When this gentleman had entertained us for an hour or two, with the justest, as well as liveliest remarks, both on persons and things, that I ever heard, he went away ; and to comfort us for losing him, there came in *the man of great good-nature*, whom I described to thee in one of my former letters.

This *courteous person*, hearing all of us very warm in praise of the *other's* wit, joined in with us, but ended his panegyric, with a plain, though indirect insinuation, that there was a *satyrical turn* in it, which rendered it very *dangerous*, and that the gentleman could not possibly be so witty, but at the expence of his good-nature.

I could not help being quite angry at so impertinent and ill-grounded a reflection, on a man for whom I had conceived a great esteem, and desired to know why he supposed him to be *ill natured*, only because he was not *dull*. Has he abused, said I, any worthy man ? Has he defamed any woman of good character ? If all the edge of his wit is turned on those who are justly the objects of ridicule, his wit is as great a benefit to *private life*, as the sword of the magistrate is to *the public*.

My gentleman, fearing to be drawn into a dispute, which he could not carry on without exposing the
secret

secret envy of his heart, changed the discourse : and for the rest of his stay among us, which was not very long, kept a most strict silence, and gave no other indications of life, but that of laughing when every body laughed ; and nods and gestures of approbation to whoever spoke.

The moment he was gone, I told my friend, that I did not much wonder to see that gentlemen in *mixed company*, where it was enough that he gave no offence ; but that, in a select society as this was, he should be received only from a general notion of his *good-nature*, which was supported by no one action of his life, seemed to me entirely unaccountable : for, even allowing his pretensions to that title, I was surprized that such a character should be so *scarce*, as to make it so very valuable.

I can easily conceive, continued I, that the notorious reverse of that virtue would be a good reason *to turn a man out of company* ; but I cannot think, that the possession of that virtue, destitute of all others, is a reason for *letting him into it*.

If you will keep my secret, replied my friend, I will tell you the whole truth ; but if you discover me, I shall pass for *ill-natured* myself. You must know then, that there are about this town ten thousand such fellows as this, who, without a grain of sense or merit, make their way by reciprocally complimenting one another. Their numbers make them formidable, especially supported as they are, by the fair sex. They sneak into good company like *dogs* after some man of sense, whom they seem to belong to ; where they neither *bark* nor *bite*, but *cringe* and *fawn* : so that neither good-manners nor humanity will allow one to kick them out, till at last they acquire a sort of *right by sufferance*. They preserve their character, by having no will of their own, which in reality is owing to their having no distinguishing judgment.

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They

They are all possessed of some degree of cunning, and their passions are too low and dull to break in upon it, or hurry them into the indiscretions of men of parts. Besides, they know that they are in a constant state of probation, where the least transgression damns them: they carry no compensation about them; for *active* faults will not be borne, where there are at best but *negative* virtues. The small number of people of sense are forced to submit in this, as in many other silly customs, to a tyrannical majority, and lavish undeservedly the valuable character of good-nature, to avoid being as unjustly branded with that of ill-nature themselves.

Might not another reason be given for it? answered I. Are not *vanity* and *self-love* the great causes of not only the toleration, but the privileges these people enjoy? and does not security from censure, certainty of applause, or the discovery of an eminent superiority, prevail with those of the best parts to really like what they only pretend to suffer, the conversation of those of the worst?

Very possibly, replied my friend; at least the *vanity* of the wisest is certainly the *comfort* of the weakest, and seems to be given as an allay to superior understandings, like cares to superior stations, to preserve a certain degree of equality, that Providence intended among mankind.

LETTER XXXVIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I HAD yesterday the pleasure of a spectacle, than which nothing is more striking to a foreigner, because he can have a right idea of it no where else: I saw the three estates of the kingdom assembled in parliament. The king was on his throne in all his majesty; around him sat the peers in their different robes; at the bar stood the speaker of the commons, attended by the house. Accustomed as I am to the sublime court of our great emperor, I beheld this scene with much more reverence; but it was reverence mixed with love. Now, and never till now, did I see a true image of *civil government*, the support and perfection of human society. A tyrant's court is no more worthy to be compared with this assembly, than a lion's den with a temple. Here such laws, as, after mature and free deliberation, have obtained the concurrence of the *nobles* and *commons*, receive the *royal assent*; nor can any bind the people which have not the authority of that *triple sanction*. A gentleman who came with me made me observe, that when the commons sent up the subsidies granted to the king, he *thanked them* for them, as an acknowledgment, that he had no power to raise them without their consent: anciently, added he, supplies of money, and redress of grievances went together; but, such is the present happiness of

our condition, that we have *more* money than ever to bestow, and *no* grievances at all to be redressed.

I have heard, said I, that when these gifts are most liberal, they have a natural tendency, like plentiful exhalations drawn from the earth, to fall again upon the place from whence they came.

He was going to answer me, when the house rose, and put an end to my enquiries.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THIS morning I received a visit from the gentleman under whose conduct I had been at the house of lords. After some general discourse upon that subject, he asked me what I thought of their nobility?

I am too great a stranger, answered I, to have formed a right opinion of what they are; but, if you please, I will tell you freely what I think they should be.

An English nobleman should be a strenuous assertor of the privileges of the people, because he is perpetually intrusted with the care of them; and, at the same time, desirous to preserve the just rights of the crown, because it is the source from which his honour is derived.

He should have an estate that might set him above dependance, and employ the superfluities, if such there were, not in improving luxury, but extending charity.

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He should make his dignity easy to his inferiors, by the modesty and simplicity of his behaviour; nor ever think himself too great for the lowest offices of friendship and humanity.

He should claim no *privilege* that might exempt him from the strictest rules of justice; and afford his *protection* not to men *obnoxious to the law*, but to every modest virtue and useful art.

The character you have drawn, replied my friend, though it be *rare*, yet is not *imaginary*: some there are to whom still it may belong; and it eminently exists in a young nobleman, *grandson* and *heir* to a late illustrious commander, whose *name* even in Persia is *not unknown*.

L E T T E R XL.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE English are blest with some privileges which no nation now in the world enjoys in so high a degree. One is, that they cannot be long deprived of their liberty upon suspicion of any crime, not even of treason itself, without being brought to a trial: another is, that they cannot be *tortured*, either to force a confession of what is laid to their charge, or a discovery of their accomplices. It is a wonderful thing that even in many free states these two essential rights of human nature have not been secured: for can any thing be more repugnant to natural justice, than to punish without proof of a crime? or is there a greater punishment than long
imprisonment

imprisonment, and the infliction of violent pain, either of which is worse than death to an innocent man? From both these evils the English are guarded by their excellent laws, which have also provided that none shall undergo the vexation and shame of a trial in a criminal cause without the consent of twelve of their countrymen, who are called the *grand jury*; nor can sentence be past upon them by the unanimous voice of twelve more of their equals, with as strong provisions (in trials for treason especially) against any influence of fear or corruption, as human laws are able to frame. To these glorious privileges is added the right of being taxed by none but their representatives, of advising the king in a parliamentary manner upon all matters of government, of enquiring into the conduct of ministers, of arraigning the guilty, and taking them out of the shelter of the throne, liberty of speech in parliament, and liberty of writing and publishing with all decent freedom what every man thinks upon public affairs. When I consider all these advantages, and reflect on the state I am in when in my own country, exposed upon the lightest suspicion to be shut up in a prison, to be tortured there, and, if ever brought out from thence, to be tried by a partial judge, possibly by my accuser himself, to have my estate taken from me at the emperor's pleasure, having no means of redress against him, or his ministers, and deprived of the power even to complain; when I reflect on all this, I cannot but look upon the lowest subject of England with envy and with respect, as I should on a being of an order superior to mine. But on the other hand, were there an Englishman wicked and foolish enough to give up the least of these rights for any temptation of fortune or power, I should look down upon him, however exalted by titles or wealth, with

with more contempt than upon the lowest slave in my seraglio: for if *unwilling slavery* be the worst of misfortunes, *voluntary servitude* is the basest of crimes.

LETTER XLI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

ABOUT a fortnight ago I went in company with one of my acquaintance, to see a place in this city, called the *Exchange*, which is the general rendezvous of all the merchants, not only of England, but the whole trading world. I never yet came into an *assembly* with so much respect as into this. These, said I, to my friend, are the most *useful*, and therefore the most *honourable* of mankind. They are met here to carry on the common happiness; their *gains* are the advantage of the public; and their *labour* makes the *ease* of human life.

I had scarce spoke these words, when he carried me out into a *neighbouring alley*, where I also saw some busy faces, but which looked, methought, very different from the *others*. These, said he, are a sort of *traders*, whose whole business is confined within the compass of this alley, where they create a kind of ebb and flow, which they know how to turn to good account; but which is destructive to all trade, except *their own*. Nay, they have sometimes raised such violent *tempests here*, that half the wealth of the nation has been sunk by it.

They are then a sort of *magicians*, answered I.

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A most *diabolical* one truly, replied he ; and what is most wonderful, *the masters of the art* have the secret to render themselves *invisible*. Though they are always *virtually present here*, they never appear to vulgar eyes : but some of their *imps* are frequently discovered, and by their motions, the skilful in this traffic steer their course, and regulate their ventures.

While he was saying this to me, there came up to us an ill-looking fellow, and asked if *we* had any *stock* to sell.

My friend whispered me in the ear, that this was *an imp*.—I started ; called on Mahomet to protect me, and made the best of my way out of the alley.

L E T T E R XLII.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

THAT Abdallah, whom I mentioned in a former letter, is gone from England ; thou wilt be affected with the virtue of the man, when I tell thee the cause of his departure. He sent last week to desire I would come to him ; I came, and found him oppressed with the deepest sorrow. Ah, Selim, said he to me, I must leave thee ; I must go and discharge my duty to the best of fathers : I must give my all for him to whom I owe it. At these words he put a letter into my hand, which he had just received the day before : I found by it, that his father, who was a merchant, in a voyage from Grand Cairo to Aleppo, was taken by a cruizer of the isle of Malta,

Malta, and being unable himself to pay his ransom, had writ to his son to do it for him. Thou knowest, said he to me, that I am not rich : to raise the sum demanded for my father's liberty, I must sell all my effects, and leave myself without the means of a subsistence, except what my labour can procure me. But my own distress is not what concerns me most : the fear of poverty cannot fright me from my duty ; I only grieve for the fate of my poor wife, whom the ruin of my fortune will expose to indigence and shame. It is for her sake that I have sent for you ; and I conjure you by all our friendship, by the prophet and the God whom we adore, not to refuse me the first favour I ever asked.—When he had said this, he opened the door of another room, where I saw a beautiful woman in the Turkish habit, who, with a modesty peculiar to our Eastern ladies, endeavoured to conceal herself from my regards. Come hither, Zelis, said my friend, and see the man whom I have chosen to protect you : see him who must shortly be your husband in the room of the unfortunate Abdallah. Then turning to me, and weeping bitterly, This, cried he, O Selim, is the grace for which I am a suppliant : permit me to give her to a man, who I know will use her well ; I am resolved to divorce her this very instant, according to the power allowed me by our law, if you will consent to take her for your wife ; nor could the sopher himself make you a present of greater value. If the charms of her person are not sufficient to recommend her to you, know that her mind is still fair and more accomplished. I brought her with me into England three years ago, in all which time, she has hardly stirred out of my house, nor desired any company but mine. It is impossible to be happier with a wife, than I have been with her : nothing should ever have prevailed

vailed on me to part with her, but the desire to separate her from my misfortunes, and to procure her a maintenance agreeable to her birth and merit, which I am no longer able to provide for her myself.

He had scarce ended, when the lady, tearing her hair, and beating the whitest breast I ever saw, implored him not to think of a separation, more painful to her than any misery that poverty could reduce her to.

After many passionate expressions of her love, she declared, that she would accompany him to Malta, and beg her bread with him afterwards, if it was necessary, rather than stay behind in the most affluent condition. But he positively refused to let her go, and insisted upon giving her to me, as the only expedient to make him easy. To carry her with me, said he, would be exposing her to such dangers and wants, as I cannot endure even to think of. But less can I bear the thought of leaving her here, in a nation of infidels, among women *who have given up modesty*, and men who profess *to make war upon it* where-ever it is to be found. Your house is the only asylum to which her virtue can safely retire. As your wife, she will be protected from any insult, even in *this land of licentiousness*. To these words of Abdallah, Zelis replied with many *arguments*, but with more *tears*. I continued some time a silent witness of this extraordinary dispute; but at last, seeing him determined to divorce her, I told him, I would accept her as a treasure committed to my hands, not for my own use, but to secure it for my friend: that she should remain with me under the character of my wife, but I would always be a stranger to her bed, and if at his return he found himself in circumstances sufficient to maintain her, I would

I would restore her back again to him untouched; or in case they should mutually desire it, carry her with me to my seraglio in the East. They were both much comforted with this assurance, and Zelis consented to stay with me, since Abdallah commanded it. The poor man embarked for Malta the following week, with his whole fortune on board for his father's ransom, and left me so touched with his filial piety, that I made an offer to pay part of it myself; but he told me I had done enough for him, in taking care of what was dearest to him upon earth, and refused any further succour from me.

N. B. *This Story is resumed, in Letter LXXVIII.*

LETTER XLIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Lately fell into discourse with an Englishman, who has well examined the constitution of his country: I begged him to tell me what he thought of the present state of it. Two principal evils, answered he, are making way for arbitrary power, if the court should ever be inclined to take advantage of them, viz. the abuse of our wealth, and the abuse of our eloquence. The last is, if possible, more mischievous than the first; for it seduces those whom money could not corrupt. It is the most pernicious of all our refinements, and the most to be dreaded in a free country. To speak truth, is the privilege of a freeman; to do it roundly and plainly, is his glory. Thus

Thus it was that the ancient Romans debated every thing that concerned the common-wealth, at a time when they best knew how to govern, before Greece had infected them with rhetoric: as nothing was propounded to them with disguise, they easily judged what was most for their honour and interest. But the thing called eloquence here is of another kind. It is less the talent of enforcing truth, than of imposing falsehood; it does not depend on a true knowledge of the matter in debate, for generally it aims at nothing more than a specious appearance: nor is wisdom a necessary quality in the composition of an orator; he can do without it very well, provided he has the happy facility of discoursing smoothly, and asserting boldly. I own to thee, Mirza, this account surprized me; we have no knowledge in the East of such an eloquence as this man described: it is our custom to speak naturally and pertinently, without ever imagining that there was an art in it, or that it was possible to talk finely upon a subject which we do not understand.

Pray Sir, said I, when these orators you tell me of have been caught two or three times *in a lie*, do not you treat them with the utmost contempt? Quite the contrary, answered he, the whole merit and pride of their profession is to *deceive*: they are to lay false colours upon every thing, and the greater the imposition is, the greater their reputation: the orator who can only persuade us to act against some of our lesser interests, is *but a genius of the second rate*; but he who can compel us by his eloquence to violate the most essential, is *an able man indeed*, and will certainly *rise very high*. I suppose it may be your custom in Persia to bestow employments on such persons as have particularly qualified themselves for them: you put the care of the army and the marine into the hands of soldiers and seamen; you make one
man

man secretary of state, because he has been bred in foreign courts, and understands the interests of your neighbouring princes; to another you trust the revenue, because he is skilful in œconomy, and has proved himself above the temptation of embezzling what passes through his hands. Yes, replied I, this is surely the right method, and I conclude it must be yours. No, said he, we are above those vulgar prejudices; such qualifications are not requisite among us: to be fit for any, or all of these posts, one must be a *good speaker in parliament*. How! said I, because I make a fine harangue upon a treaty of peace, am I therefore fit to superintend an army? We think so, answered he: and if I can plausibly defend a minister of state from a reasonable charge brought against him, have I thereby a title to be taken into the administration? Beyond dispute, in this country, answered he. Why then, by Mahomet, said I, your government may well be sick: what a distempered body must that be, whose members are so monstrously out of joint, that there is no one part in its proper place! if my tongue should undertake to do the office of my head and arms, the absurdity and the impotency would be just the same.

Yet thus, said he, we go on, lamely enough, I must confess, but still admiring our own wise policy, and laughing at the rest of the world.

You may laugh, replied I, as you think fit; but if the sultan, my master, had among his counsellors such an *orator* as you describe, a fellow that would prate away truth, equity and common sense; by the tomb of our holy prophet, he would make a *mute* of him, and set him to watch over the *seraglio* instead of the *state*.

At these words, I was obliged to take my leave, and our discourse was broke off till another meeting.

L E T-

LETTER XLIV.

SELIM *to* MIRZA *at* Ispahan.

From London.

THE next day I saw my friend again, and he resumed the subject of eloquence. You cannot imagine, said he to me, of what fatal consequence this art of haranguing has been to all free states: good laws have been established by wise men, who were far from being eloquent; and eloquent men, who were far from being wise, have every where destroyed or corrupted them. Look into history, you will find, that the same period which carried eloquence to its perfection, was almost always mortal to liberty. The republics of Greece, and that of Rome, did not see their most celebrated orators, till the very moment that their constitutions were overturned. And how, indeed, should it be otherwise? When once it becomes a fashion to advance men to dignity and power, not for the good council that they give, but for an agreeable manner of recommending bad ones; it is impossible that a government so administered can long subsist. Is any thing complained of as amiss? Instead of redress, they give you an oration: have you proposed a good and needful law? In exchange for that you receive an oration. Has your natural reason determined you upon any point? Up gets an orator, and so confounds you, that you are no longer able to reason at all: is any right measure to be obstructed, or wrong one to be advanced? There is an orator always ready, and it is most charmingly

charmingly performed to the delight of all the hearers.

I do not know, said I, what pleasure you may find in being deceived; but I dare say, should these gentlemen undertake to instruct a merchant in his business, or a farmer in his work, without understanding either trade or husbandry, they would only be laughed at for their pains; and yet when they attempt to persuade a nation to commit a thousand senseless faults, they are listened to with great attention, and come off with abundance of applause. But for my part, I think they deserve nothing but hatred and contempt, for daring to play with such sacred things as truth, justice, and public good, in so wanton and dissolute a manner.

Most certainly, answered he, they are very dangerous to all society; for what is it that they profess? do not they make it their boast, that they have the power to soothe or inflame; that is, in proper terms, to make us partial, or to make us mad? are either of these tempers of the mind agreeable to the duty of a judge, or of a counsellor of state? I maintain, that it would be just as proper for us to decide a question of right or wrong, after a debauch of wine, or a dose of opium, as after being heated or cooled, to the degree we often are, by the address of one of these skilful speakers.

Wisely was it done by the Venetians, to banish a member of their senate (as I have read they did) only because they thought he had too much eloquence, and gained too great an ascendant in their councils by that bewitching talent. Without such a caution there is no safety; for we are led, when we fancy that we act most freely, and the man who can master our affections, will have but little trouble with our reason—but, to show you the power of oratory, in its strongest light, let us see what it does with religion :

ligion : in itself it is simple and beneficent, full of charity and humility ; and yet, let an eloquent jesuit get up into a pulpit, what monstrous systems will he draw out of it ! what pride, what tyranny will he make it authorize ! how much rancour and malignity will he graft upon it ! If then the laws of God may be thus corrupted by the taint of eloquence, do we wonder that the laws of men cannot escape ? No, said I, no mischiefs are to be wondered at, where the reason of mankind is so abused.

LETTER XLV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE conversation I repeated to thee in my last letter was heard by a gentleman that sat near us, who, I have been told, has found his account so much in eloquence, as to be interested in the defence of it : accordingly he attacked my friend, and told him, he was afraid he had forgot his history, or he would have recollected, that Demosthenes and Cicero, the two greatest orators that ever were, employed their rhetoric in the service of their country. I might, perhaps, answered he, make some objections to the integrity of both ; but allowing what you say, it amounts to no more than this, that eloquence may be of service to mankind in the possession of very good men ; and so may arbitrary power, of the greatest service ; but yet we say in England, that it is wiser not to trust to it ; because, as it is generally managed, it becomes a most grievous oppression. And, I am sure,

sure, I can shew you in history as many orators that have abused their eloquence, as kings that have abused their authority : for, besides the wickedness common to human nature, the vanity of making a bad cause appear a good one, is in itself a dangerous temptation. When a man sees he is able to impose upon the judgments of others, he must be a very honest, and very modest one indeed, if he never does it wrongfully. Alas, Sir, returned his antagonist, the generality of men are too weak to bear truth ! they must be cheated into happiness.—I am sure they are often *cheated out of it*, replied my friend : nor can I wholly agree to your proposition in the sense you understand it. It may be necessary for the government of mankind, not to tell them the *whole* truth : something may be proper to be hid behind the veil of policy ; but it is seldom necessary to tell them *lies*.

These *pious frauds* are the inventions of very *impious men* ; they are the tricks of those who make the public good a pretence for serving their private vices. Let us consider how mankind was governed in those ages and states, where they are known to have been the happiest. How was it in Athens while the laws of Solon preserved their forces ? Was it then thought necessary to *lie* for the good of the commonwealth ? No :—the people were truly informed of every thing that concerned them ; and as they judged by their natural understanding, their determinations were right, and their actions glorious : but when the orators had got the dominion over them, and they were *deceived* upon the principle you established, what was the consequence ? their leaders became factious and corrupt, their government venal, their public councils uncertain and fluctuating, either too *weakly fearful*, or too *rashly bold* ; till, at last, from generous high-spirited freemen, they sunk into prating, contemptible

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temptible slaves. In Rome the case was much the same: as long as they were a great and free people, they understood not those political refinements. All governments, in their first institution, were founded in truth and justice, and the first rulers of them were generally honest men; but, by length of time, corruption is introduced, and men come to look upon those frauds as necessary to government, which their forefathers abhorred as destructive to it. It does not, said I, belong to me to decide in this dispute; but it seems to be highly important, that *this power of deceiving for the public good* should be lodged in safe hands. And, I suppose, that such among you as are trusted with it, are very *constant* and *uniform* in their principles: though *the colours* may vary, *the ground* of their conduct is still the same. What with them is the *essential* and *fundamental* interest of the nation *now*, will certainly be so *next year*: disgrace or favour can make no difference.

L E T.

L E T T E R XLVI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Was the other day in company with a clergyman, who has the education of several young noblemen committed to his care: a trust of this importance made me regard him as one of the most *considerable* men in England. This sage, said I to myself, has much to answer for: the virtue and happiness of the next age will in a great measure depend on his capacity.—I was very desirous to enter into discourse with him, that I might know if he was equal to his office, and tried all the common topics of conversation; but on none of these was I able to draw a word from him: at last, upon some point being started, which gave him occasion to quote a Latin poet, he opened all at once, and poured forth such a deluge of hard words, composed out of all the learned languages, that though I understood but little of his meaning, I could not help admiring his elocution.

As his scholars were many of them born to an hereditary share in the legislature, I concluded he must be thoroughly acquainted with the English constitution, and able to instruct them in the knowledge of it: but on asking him some questions on that subject, I found to my very great surprize, that he was more a stranger to it than myself, and had no notions of government, but what he drew from the *imaginary republic* of a Great philosopher. Well, said I, you at least instruct your scholars in Grecian and Roman

virtue; you light up in them a *spirit of liberty*; you exercise them in *justice* and *magnanimity*; you form them to a resemblance of the *great characters* they meet with in ancient authors. Far from it, said a gentleman in company. They are accustomed to *tremble at a rod*, to tell *lies* in excuse of trifling faults, to *betray their companions*, to be *spies and cowards*: the natural vigour of their spirits is broke, the natural ingenuity of their tempers varnished over, the natural bent of their genius curbed and thwarted. The whole purpose of their education is to acquire some Greek and Latin words; by this only they are allowed to try their parts; if they are backward in this, they are pronounced dunces, and often made so from discouragement and despair.

I should think, said I, if *words* only are to be taught them, they should learn to speak English with grace and elegance, which is particularly necessary in a government where eloquence has obtained so great a sway. That article is never thought of, answered he: I came myself from the college a perfect master of one or two dead languages, but could neither write nor speak my *own*, till it was taught me by the letters and conversation of a *lady about the court*, whom, luckily for my *education*, I fell in love with.

I have heard, said I, that it is usual for young gentlemen to finish their studies in other countries; and, indeed, it seems necessary enough by the account you have given me of them here: but if I may judge by the greatest part of those whom I have seen at their return, the *foreign masters* are no better than the English, and the *foreign mistresses* not so good. Were I to go back to Persia with an English coat, an English footman, and an English *cough*, it would amount to just the improvement made in France, by one half of the youth who travel thither. Add to these, a taste for music, replied the gentleman, with
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two or three terms of building and of painting, and you would want but *one taste more* to be as *accomplished* as some of the finest gentlemen that Italy sends us back.

LETTER XLVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

FROM considering the education of English gentlemen, we turned our discourse to that of English ladies. I asked a married man that was in company, to instruct me a little in the course of it, being particularly curious to know the methods which could render a woman in this country so different a creature from one in Persia. Indeed, Sir, said he, you must ask *my wife*, not me, that question: these are mysteries I am not allowed to pry into. When I presume to give my advice about it, she tells me the education of a lady is above the capacity of a man, let him be ever so wise in his own affairs. I should think, said I, that as the purpose of womens breeding is nothing else, but to teach them to *please men*; a man should be a better judge of *that* than any woman in the world. But, pray, Sir, what in general have you observed of this *mysterious institution*? I do not inquire into the secrets *behind the altar*, but only the outward forms of *discipline* which are exposed to the eyes of all the world. Why, Sir, replied he, the first great point which every mother aims at, is to make her girl *a goddess* if she can.

A goddess!

A goddess! cried I, in great astonishment.—

Yes, said he; you have none of them in the East; but here we have five or six in every street: there never were more *divinities* in Ægypt, than there are at this time in the town of London. In order therefore to fit them for *that character*, they are made to *throw off human nature*, as much as possible, in their looks, gestures, words, actions, dress, &c.—But is it not apt to return again? said I.—Yes, replied he, it returns indeed again, but strangely distorted and deformed. The same thing happens to their *minds* as to their *shapes*; both are *crampt* by a violent confinement, which makes them swell out *in the wrong place*. You cannot conceive the wild tricks that women play from this habitual perversion of their faculties; there is not a single quality belonging to them, which they do not apply to other purposes than Providence designed it for. Hence it is, that they are vain of being *cowards*, and *ashamed* of being *modest*: hence they *smile* on the man whom they *dislike*, and *look cold* on him they *love*: hence they kill every sentiment of their own, and not only *act with the fashion*, but really *think with it*. All this is taught them carefully from their childhood, or else it would be impossible so to conquer their natural dispositions.

I do not know, said I, what the use is of these instructions; but it seems to me, that in a country where the women are admitted to a familiar and constant share in every active scene of life, particular care should be taken in their education, to *cultivate their reason*, and *form their hearts*, that they may be equal to the part they have to act. Where great temptations must occur, great virtues are required; and the *giddy situations* in which they are placed, or love to place themselves, demand a more than ordinary strength of brain. In Persia a woman has no occasion for any thing but beauty, because of the

the confinement which she lives under, and therefore that only is attended to : but *here*, methinks, good sense is so very necessary, that it is the business of a lady to improve and adorn her understanding with as much application as the other sex ; and, generally speaking, *by methods much the same*.

L E T T E R XLVHI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I WAS this morning with some gentlemen of my acquaintance, who were talking of the attempt that had been made not long ago of setting up a press at Constantinople, and the opposition it had met with from the *mufti*. They applied to me to know what I thought of it, and whether in Persia also it was our religion that deprived us of so useful an art.

I told them, that policy had more part than religion in that affair : that the press was a very dangerous engine, and the abuses of it made us justly apprehend ill consequences from it.

You are in the right, said one of the company, for this single reason, *because your government is a despotic one*. But, in a free country, the press may be very useful, as long as it is under no partial restraint : for it is of great consequence, that the people should be informed of every thing that concerns them ; and without printing, such knowledge could not circulate, either so easily or so fast. And to argue against any branch of liberty from the ill use that may be made of it, is to argue against liberty itself, since
all

all is capable of being abused : nor can any part of freedom be more important, or better worth contending for than that by which the spirit of it is *preserved, supported, and diffused*. By this appeal to the judgment of the people, we lay some restraint upon those ministers, who may have found means to secure themselves from any other *less incorruptible tribunal*; and sure they have no reason to complain, if the public exercises a right, which cannot be denied without avowing, that their conduct will not bear enquiry. For though the best administration may be attacked by calumny, I can hardly believe it would be hurt by it, because I have known a great deal of it employed to very little purpose against gentlemen, in opposition to ministers, who had nothing to defend them but the force of truth : I do not mean by this to justify any scurrilities upon the *personal characters* either of magistrates or private men, or any *libel properly so called*. Against such abuses of the press the laws have provided a remedy ; and let the laws take their course ; it is for the interest of liberty they should do so, as well as for the security and honour of government : but let them not be strained into oppression by *forced constructions*, or *extraordinary acts of power*, alike repugnant to natural justice, and to the spirit of a free state. Such arbitrary practices no provocation can justify, no precedents warrant, no danger excuse.

The gentleman who spoke thus, was contradicted by another of the company, who, with great warmth, and many arguments, maintained, ‘ That the licentiousness of the press was grown, of late, to such a dangerous height as to require *extraordinary remedies* ; and that if it were put under the inspection of some discreet and judicious person, it would be far more beneficial to the public.’

I agree

I agree to it, answered he, upon one condition, *viz.* That there may be likewise *an inspector for* THE PEOPLE, as well as one for the *court*; but if *nothing* is to be licensed on one side, and *every thing* on the other, it would be vastly better for us to adopt the Eastern policy, and allow *no printing here at all*, than to leave it under *such a partial direction*.

LETTER XLIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE same gentleman, who, as I told thee in my last, argued so strongly for the liberty of the press, went on with his discourse in the following manner.

If we have so much reason to be unwilling, that what we *print* should be under the *inspection* of the court; how much more may we complain of a new power assumed within these last fifty years by all the courts of Europe, of *inspecting private letters*, and invading the *liberty of the post*? The secrecy and safety of correspondence, is a point of such consequence to mankind, that the least interruption of it would be criminal, without an evident *necessity*; but that of course, from one year to another, there should be a constant breach of it publicly avowed, is such a violation of the rights of society, as one cannot but wonder at *even in this age*.

You may well wonder, said I to him, when I myself am quite amazed to hear of such a thing; the like of which was never practised among *us*, whom you
English

English reproach with being *slaves*. But I beg you to inform me what it was, that could induce a free people to give up all the secrets of their business and private thoughts, to the curiosity and discretion of a minister, or his inferior tools in office?

They never gave them up, answered he; but those gentlemen have exercised this power by their own authority, under pretence of discovering plots against the state.—No doubt, said one of the company, it is a great advantage and ease to the government, to be acquainted at all times with the sentiments of considerable persons, because it is possible they may have some ill intent.—It is very true, replied the other, and it might be still a *greater* ease and advantage to the government to have a *licensed spy* in every house, who should report the most private conversations, and let the minister thoroughly into the secrets of every family in the kingdom. This would effectually detect and prevent conspiracies; but would anybody come into it on that account?

Is it not making a bad compliment to a government, to suppose, that it could not be secured without such measures, as are inconsistent with the end for which it is designed?

But such, in general, is the wretched turn of modern policy: the most sacred ties of society are often infringed, to promote some present interest, without considering how fatal it may prove in its remoter consequences, and how greatly we may want those useful barriers we have so lightly broken down.

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LETTER L.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan,

From London.

I HAD lately the pleasure of seeing a sight which filled my mind beyond all the magnificence that our Eastern monarchs can shew; I saw a British *fleet* under full sail. Nothing can be imagined more pompous, or more august! The vast size of the ships and the skill of the sailors exceed any others now in the universe; nor are they less renowned for their intrepidity. The whole spectacle gave me the highest ideas of the strength of this nation; a strength not confined to their own coasts, but equally formidable to the most distant parts of the globe.

Were I a king of England, I would never receive an Embassador with any solemnity but in the cabin of a *first rate man of war*. There is the true seat of his empire; and from *that throne* he might awe the whole world, if he understood how to exert his *maritime power* in its full strength, and was wise enough to aim at *no other*. But, by an unaccountable mistake in their policy, many kings of England have seemed to forget that their dominions had the advantage of being an *island*: they have been as deeply engaged in the affairs of the *continent*; as the most *exposed* of the states there, and neglected the sea, to give all their attention to expensive and ruinous wars undertaken at land. Nay what is strange still, they have been fond of *acquisitions* made upon the continent,

nent, not considering that all *such acquisitions*, instead of encreasing their real strength, are only so many *weak and vulnerable* parts, in which they are liable to be hurt by those enemies, who could not possibly hurt them in their natural state, as the sovereigns of a powerful island. Their case is the reverse of that expressed by the poets of Greece in the fable of Antæus. He was (says those poets) *the son of the earth*; and as long as he fought upon her surface, even Hercules, the strongest of heroes, could not overcome him; but being drawn from thence he was easily vanquished: the English (in the same poetical stile) are *the sons of the sea*, and while they *adhere to their mother* they are invincible; but if they can once be drawn out of that situation, their strength forsakes them, and they are not only in danger of being *crushed by their enemies*, but may be *bugged to death* even by their friends.

LET

LETTER LII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I AM returned to this city, from which I have made a long excursion, and am going to give thee an account how I have passed my time. A friend of mine, who lives in a part of England, distant from the capital, invited me to spend the summer at his house: my curiosity to see something new, and a natural love to fields and groves at this season of the year, made me glad to accept of his proposal.

The first thing that struck me in leaving London, was to find all the country cultivated like one great garden. This is the genuine effect of that happy liberty, which the English enjoy: where property is secure, industry will exert itself; and such is the force of industry, that without any particular advantages of soil or climate, the lands about this city are of a hundred times greater profit to their owners, than the best tempered and most fertile spots of Asia to the subjects of the sopher, or the Turk.

Another circumstance which engaged my attention throughout all my journey, was the vast number of fine seats that adorned the way as I travelled along, and seemed to express a certain *rural greatness* extremely becoming a free people. It looked to me, as if men who were possessed of such magnificent retreats, were above depending on a court, and had wisely fixed the scene of their pride and pleasure in the centre of their own estates, where they could really

really make themselves most considerable. And, indeed, this notion is true in fact; for it has always been the policy of princes that wanted to be absolute, to draw gentlemen away from their country seats, and place them about a court, as well to deprive them of the popularity which hospitality might acquire, as to render them cold to the interest of the country, and wholly devoted to themselves. Thus we have often been told by our friend Usbec, that the court and capital of France is crouded with nobility, while in the provinces there is scarce a mansion-house that is not falling to ruin; an infallible sign of the decay and downfal of the nobility itself! Those who remember what England was forty years ago, speak with much uneasiness of the change they observe in this particular; and complain, that their countrymen are making haste to copy the French, by abandoning their family seats, and living too constantly in town; but this is not yet sensible to a foreigner. Thou mayest expect the sequel of my journey in other letters.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

IT happened when I set out from London, that the parliament, who had sat seven years, was just dissolved, and elections for a new one were carrying on all over England. My first day's stage had nothing in it remarkable, more than what I observed to thee in my last. But when I came to the town where I was to lodge, I found the streets all crowded with men and women, who gave me a lively idea of what I have read of the the antient Bacchanals. Instead of ivy, they carried oaken boughs, were exceeding drunk and mutinous, but, at the same time, mighty zealous for religion. My Persian habit drew them all about me, and I found they were much puzzled what to make of me. Some said, I was a German minister, sent by the court to corrupt the electors; upon which suggestion, I had like to have been torn to pieces; others fancied me a Jesuit; but at last they agreed I was a *mountebank*; and as such conducted me to my inn with great respect. When I was safely delivered from this danger, I took a resolution to lay aside my foreign dress, that I might travel with less disturbance; and fell into discourse upon what had passed with a gentleman that accompanied me in my journey. It seemed to me very strange, that in an affair of so great importance as the choice of a guardian for their liberties, men should drink themselves out of their reason. I asked, whether

ther riots of this kind were common at these times? He answered, that the whole business of the candidates was to prevert and confound the understandings of those that chuse them, by all imaginable ways: that from the day they began to make their interest, there was nothing but idleness and debauchery among the common people: the care of their families is neglected; trades and manufactures are at a stand; and such a habit of disorder is brought upon them, that it requires the best part of *seven* years to settle them again. And yet, continued he, this evil, great as it is, may be reckoned one of the *least* attending these affairs. Could we bring our electors to content themselves with being made drunk for a year together, we might hope to preserve our constitution; but it is the *sober, considerate corruption*, the cool bargaining for a sale of their liberties, that will be the certain undoing of this nation, whenever a wicked minister shall be the purchaser.

L E T-

LETTER LIV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE next day brought us into a country town, where the elections for the city and the shire were carrying on together. It was with some difficulty that we made our way through two or three mobs of different parties, that obliged us by turns to declare ourselves for their respective factions. Some of them wore in their hats tobacco leaves, and seemed principally concerned for the honour of that noble plant, which they said had been attacked by the ministry; and in this I heartily joined with them, being myself a great admirer of its virtues, like most of my countrymen. When we came to our inn, I entertained myself with asking my fellow traveller questions about elections. The thing was so new to me, that in many points I could not believe him. As for instance, it seems very odd, that a corporation should take such a sudden liking to a man's face, whom they never saw before, as to prefer him to a family that had served them time out of mind; yet this, I was assured, very often happened, and what was stranger still, on the recommendation of another person, who was no better known to them himself. My instructor added, That there was in England ONE MAN so extremely popular, *though he never affected popularity*, that a line from him, accompanied with two or three bits of a particular sort of paper,

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was enough to direct half the nation in the choice of their representatives.

It would be endless to repeat to thee all the tricks which he told me other gentlemen were forced to use to get themselves elected. One way of being well with a corporation (which a Persian would hardly conceive) is to *kiss* all their *wives*. My companion confessed to me, that he himself had formerly been obliged to go through this laborious sollicitation, and had met with some old women in his way, who made him pay dear for their interest. But these methods (said he), and other arts of popularity, are growing out of fashion every day. We now court our electors, as we do our mistresses, by sending a notary to them with a proposal: if they like the settlement, it is no matter how they like the man that makes it: but if we disagree about *that*, other pretensions are of very little use. And to make the comparison the juster, the members thus chosen have no more regard to their venal constituents, than husbands so married to their wives. I asked, if they had no laws against corruption. Yes, said he, very strong ones, but corruption is stronger than the laws. If the magistrates in Persia were to sell wine, it would signify very little that your law forbids the drinking it. How is it possible, said I, to bribe a whole nation to the undoing itself? It is not possible, answered he; but the misfortune of our government is, that the majority of the representative body is chosen not by the whole nation, but by a *small*, and *very mean part of it*. There are a number of boroughs which have at present no other *trade* than *sending members to parliament*, and whose inhabitants think the right of *selling themselves and their country*, the only valuable privilege of Englishmen. Time has produced this evil, which was quite unforeseen in the original frame of our constitution; and time alone can furnish occasions, and means of
applying

applying an adequate remedy. Before it can be thoroughly cured, one of two very unlikely things must come to pass, either a court must be so disinterested as to exert all its power for the redressing an evil advantageous to itself; or a popular party so strong as to give laws to the court, must have virtue enough to venture *disgusting the people*, as well as *offending the crown*, for the sake of *reforming the CONSTITUTION*.

LETTER LV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

ON the third day our travels were at an end, and I arrived at my friend's house with all the pleasure which we receive from retirement and repose, after a life of tumult and fatigue. I was as weary of elections, as if I had been a candidate myself, and could not help expressing my surprize, that the general disorder on these occasions, had not brought some fatal mischief upon the nation.—That we are not undone by it, replied my friend, is entirely owing to the happy circumstance of our being an island. Were we seated on the continent, every election of a new parliament would infallibly draw on an invasion.—It is not only from enemies abroad that you are in danger, answered I: one would think that the violence of domestic feuds should of itself overturn your constitution, as it has so many others; and how you have been able to escape so long, is the wonder of all who have been bred up under absolute

monarchies : for they are taught, that the superior advantage of their form of government consists in the strength of union ; and that in other states, where power is more divided, a pernicious confusion must ensue.—They argue rightly enough, said the gentleman who came along with me, but they carry the argument too far. No doubt, factions are the natural inconveniences of all free governments, as oppression is too apt to attend on arbitrary power. But the difference lies here, that in an absolute monarchy, a tyrant has nothing to restrain him ; whereas parties are not only a controul on those that govern, but on each other ; nay, they are even a controul *upon themselves*, as the leaders of them dare not give a loose to their own particular passions and designs, for fear of hurting their credit with those whom it is their interest to manage, and please. Besides, that it is easier to infect a prince with a spirit of tyranny, than a nation with a spirit of faction ; and where the discontent is not general, the mischief will be light. To engage a whole people in a revolt, the highest provocations must be given ; in such a case, the disorder is not chargeable on those that defend their liberties, but on the aggressor that invades them. Parties in society, are like tempests in the natural world ; they cause indeed, a very great disturbance, and when violent tear up every thing that opposes them ; but then they purge away many noxious qualities, and prevent a stagnation which would be fatal : all nations that live in a quiet slavery, may be properly said to stagnate ; and happy would it be for them if they were roused and put in motion by that spirit of faction they dread so much ; for, let the consequences of resistance be what they would, they can produce nothing worse than a confirmed and established servitude : but generally such a ferment in a nation throws off what is most oppressive

pressive to it, and settles by degrees, into a better and more eligible state. Of this we have received abundant proof; for there is hardly a privilege belonging to us, which has not been gained by popular discontent, and preserved by frequent opposition. I may add, that we have known many instances, where parties, though ever so inflamed against each other, have united, from a sense of common danger, and joined in securing their common happiness. And this is more easily done, when the points that were once the great subjects of heat and division, are either worn out by time, or changed by the clearer and more temperate medium through which they are seen: for in that case, parties which thought that they stood at a very great distance from one another, may find themselves brought very near, and the only *separation* remaining would be the *essential* and *everlasting* one, between *honest men* and *knaves*, *wise men* and *fools*. That this may happen experience shews, and this, I think, ought to free us from the reproach of sacrificing our country to our divisions, and make those despair of success, that *hope by dividing to destroy us*.

LETTER LVI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

FOR the first month of my being in the country, we did nothing from morning till night, but dispute about the government. The natural beauties round about us were little attended to, so much were we taken up with our enquiries into political defects. My two companions disagreed in many points, though I am persuaded they both meant the same thing, and were almost equally good subjects, and good citizens. I sometimes fancied, that I had learnt a great deal in these debates; but when I came to put my learning together, I found myself not much wiser than before. The master of the house was inclined to the side of the court, not from any interested or ambitious views; but, as he said, from a principle of *whiggism*: this word is one of those distinctions, which, for little less than a century, have divided and perplexed this nation. The opposite party are called *tories*. They have as strong an antipathy to each other, as the followers of Hali to those of Osman. I desired my friend to give me some certain mark by which I might know one from the other. The *whigs*, said he, are they that are *now in place*, and the *tories* are they that are *out*. I understand you, returned I, the difference is only *there*; so that if they who are now *tories*, were *employed*, they instantly become *whigs*: and if the *whigs* were removed, they would be *tories*. Not, so, answered he, with some warmth: there is a great difference in

in their principles and their conduct. Ay, said I, let me hear that, and then I shall be able to chuse my party. The *tories*, said he, are for *advancing* the *power* of the *crown*, and making the *clergy* the tools of their ambition. When they were in power, they *weakened* our ancient allies, *disgraced* our arms, *hurt* our *trade*, *lost* our *honour*, and were *assistant* to the greatness of France.

You surprise me! replied I; for I have heard *all this* imputed to *some*, who, you assure, are *good whigs*; nay, the very *pillars of whiggism*.

I will explain that matter to you immediately, said the gentleman that came down with me: whiggism is an *indelible character*, like *episcopacy*: for as he who has once been a *bishop*, though he no longer perform any of the offices and duties of his function, *is a bishop* nevertheless; so he who has once been a whig, let him act ever so contrary to his principles, *is, nevertheless a whig*; and as all true churchmen are obliged in conscience to *acknowledge* the first, so all true whigs are in duty bound to *support* the last.

Very well, said I; but are there none who differ from this *orthodox belief*? Yes, said he, *certain obstinate people*; but like other *dissenters*, they are punished for *their separation*, by being excluded from *all places of trust and profit*.

A heavy punishment, indeed! answered I, and more likely *to diminish the sect* than any other kind of persecution. But if you will allow a stranger to give any advice in your affairs, I think you should pull down, at once, these *ensigns of party*, which are, indeeds *false colours* hung out by *faction*, and set up, instead of them, *one national standard*, which all who leave, by whatever name they may call themselves, should be considered, and used as *deserters*.

LETTER LVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Went with my country friend some days ago, to make a visit in a neighbouring county, to the prelate of that diocese. His character is so extraordinary, that not to give it to thee, would be departing from the rule I have laid down, to let nothing that is *singular* escape my notice. In the first place, he *resides* constantly on his diocese, and has done so for many years: he asks nothing of the court for himself or family: he hoards up no wealth for his relations, but lays out the revenues of his see in a decent hospitality, and a charity void of ostentation. At his first entrance into the world, he distinguished himself by a zeal for the liberty of his country, and had a considerable share in bringing on the Revolution that preserved it. His principles never altered by his preferment: he never prostituted his pen, nor debased his character by party disputes or blind compliance. Though he is warmly serious in the belief of his religion, he is moderate to all who differ from him: he knows no distinction of party, but extends his good offices alike to whig and tory; a friend to virtue under any denomination; an enemy to vice under any colours. His health and old age are the effects of a temperate life and a quiet conscience: though he is now some years above fourscore, nobody ever thought he lived too long, unless it was out of an impatience to *succeed him*.

This

This excellent person entertained me with the greatest humanity, and seemed to take a particular delight in being useful and instructive to a stranger. To tell thee the truth, Mirza, I was so affected with the piety and virtue of this teacher *; the Christian religion appeared to me so amiable in his character and manners, that if the force of education had not rooted Mahometism in my heart, he would certainly have made a convert of me.

L E T T E R LVIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

MY long stay in the country gave me leisure to read a good deal; I applied myself to history, particularly that of England; for rightly to understand what a nation *is*, one should previously learn what it *has been*. If I complained of the different accounts which are given by the English of themselves in their present circumstances, I have no less reason to complain of their historians: past transactions are so variously related, and with such a mixture of prejudice on both sides, that it is as hard to know truth from their relations, as religion from the comments of divines. The great article in which they differ most, is the ancient power of the crown, and that of the parliament: according to some, the latter

* The translator supposes, that the author means Dr. Hough, bishop of Worcester.

latter is no more than an incroachment on the former ; but according to others, it is as old as the monarchy itself.

This point is debated with great warmth, and a multitude of proofs alledged by either party : yet the importance of the controversy is not so great as some may conceive it. For many hundred years the point is out of dispute ; but suppose it were otherwise, would it follow from thence, that the parliamentary powers are usurpations ? No, Mirza, no ; if liberty were but a year old, the English would have just as good a right to claim and to preserve it, as if it had been handed down to them from many ages : for allowing that their ancestors were slaves, through weakness or want of spirit, is *slavery so valuable an inheritance* that it never must be parted with ? is a long prescription necessary to give force to the natural rights of mankind ? if privileges of the people of England be *concessions* from the crown, is not the power of the crown itself a *concession* from the people ? however, it must be confest, that though a long possession of absolute power can give no right to continue it against the natural claim of the people in behalf of their liberties, whenever that claim shall be made ; yet a long possession of freedom serves to establish and strengthen original right, or, at least, makes it more shameful to give it up. I will therefore sketch out to thee, as short as I can in my next letters, the result of what I have read, and what I have thought on this subject, not with the minute exactness of a political critic, who, of all critics, would tire thee most, but by such a general view of the several changes this government has undergone, as may set the true state of it pretty clearly before thee. Further than this it would be almost impossible for a stranger to go upon that subject, or for one so distant as thou art, either to receive or desire information :

formation : nor, indeed, were it more feasible, should I think it of use, to engage in a much larger detail. It is with enquiries into the constiutions of nations, as with enquiries into the constitution of the universe ; those who are most nicely curious about particular and trifling parts, are often those who see least of the whole.

LETTER LIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

IT has been a usual piece of vanity in the writers of every nation, to represent the original constitutions of their respective states, as founded on deep-laid systems and plans of policy, in which they imagine that they discover the utmost refinements of human wisdom ; whereas, in truth, they are often the effects of downright chance, and produced by the force of certain circumstances, or the simple dictates of nature itself, out of a regard to some present expediency, and with little providence to the future.

Such was the original of the celebrated Gothic government, that was formerly spread all over Europe. It was produced not in a cabinet, but a camp ; and owes much less to the prudence of a legislator, than to the necessity of the times, which gave it birth.

The people that introduced it into Britain, and every where else, were a multitude of soldiers, unacquainted with any thing but war : their leader, for

for the better carrying it on, was invested with a sort of regal power, and when it happened that the war continued long, he acquired a prescriptive authority over those who had been accustomed to obey his orders; but this authority was directed by the advice of the other officers, and dependant on the good-liking of the army, from which alone it was derived: in like manner, the first revenues of this leader, were nothing more than a title to a larger share in the common booty, or the voluntary contributions of the soldiers out of the wealth acquired under his command. But had he attempted to take a horse or cow, or any part of the plunder from the meanest soldier, without his free consent, a mutiny would certainly have ensued, and the violation of property been revenged. From these principles, we may naturally draw the whole form of the Saxon or Gothic government. When these invaders became masters of kingdoms, and not only ravaged them, but settled there, the general was changed into a king, the officers into nobles, the council of war into a council of state, and the body of the soldiery itself into a general assembly of all the freemen. A principal share of the conquests, as it had been of the spoils, was freely allotted to the prince, and the rest by him distributed according to rank and merit among his troops and followers, under certain conditions agreeable to the Saxon customs. Hence the different tenures, and the services founded upon them; hence the vassalage, or rather servitude of the conquered, who were obliged to till the lands which they had lost, for the conquerors who had gained them, or, at best, to hold them of those new proprietors on such hard and slavish terms as they thought fit to impose. Hence, likewise, the riches of the clergy, and their early authority in the state: for those people being ignorant and superstitious in the same degree, and heated with the zeal of a new conversion, thought they

they could not do too much for their teachers, but with a considerable share of the conquered lands, admitted them to a large participation of dominion itself.—Thus, without any settled design, or speculative skill, this constitution in a manner formed itself; and it was *the better* for that reason, as there was more of nature in it, and little of *political mystery*, which, where-ever it prevails, is the bane of public good. A government so established, could admit of no pretence of a *power* in the king *transcendant to law*, or an *unalterable right* in the succession. It could never come into the heads of such a people, that they were to submit to a *tyranny* for *conscience sake*; or, that their liberties were not every way as *sacred* as the prerogative of their prince. They could never be brought to understand, that there was such a thing as *reason of state* distinct from the common reason of mankind; much less would they allow pernicious measures to pass unquestioned or unpunished, under the ridiculous sanction of that name.

L E T-

LETTER LX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Gave thee in my last a short account of the first rise and construction of the Saxon government, on very plain and simple foundations. It was, perhaps, the *most free* of all the limited monarchies that have been known in the world. The nobles and people had such a share in the legislature, and such a weight in the government, that the king could do nothing but with their assistance, and by their advice. He could not oppress them by force, because they were *armed*, and he *was not*, unless when they employed *their arms* in his service for the defence of the kingdom. He could not corrupt them: for all offices of power or judicature were then *elective*, the estate of the crown was held inalienable, and only sufficed to maintain the expence of the royal household, and civil government. No causes were tried but by juries, even in spiritual matters; so that the lives and properties of the people could not be touched *without their own co-operation*, either by the king, the nobles, or clergy. To all this was joined the best *police* that any nation ever enjoyed except the Chinese, among whom many of the same regulations have been established with a *conformity* very *surprising*, as it is certain that neither copied the other. Such was the Saxon constitution, when by the wisdom and virtue of two or three kings it had received its final perfection. The only essential defect of it was, the *excessive immunities* granted

granted to churchmen, which made them too independant upon the civil authority, and very burthenfome to the state. This form of government continued unaltered in its principal parts, till the Norman invasion, which, like a foreign weight roughly laid upon the springs, disturbed and obstructed its proper motions: yet, by degrees, it recovered itself again; and how ill soever the Saxon *people* might be treated, under the notion of a *conquest*, the Saxon *constitution* was never wholly subdued. The new comers relished slavery no better than the old inhabitants, and gladly joined with them, upon a sense of mutual interest, to force a confirmation of their freedom and the antient laws. Indeed there was so great a conformity between the government of Normandy and that of England, the customs of both nations were so much the same, that unless the Normans by conquering this island had lost their original rights, and fought on purpose to degrade themselves and their posterity, it was impossible their kings could have a right to absolute power. So far was that nation from owning any such right, that, in conjunction with the *English*, they demanded, and obtained of their kings *charters* declaring their liberties, not as *grants* derived from the *favour*, or *innovations* forced from the *weakness*, but as *acknowledgments* due from the *justice of the crown*. As such the best and greatest princes considered those charters; as such they confirmed and observed them, and when they were disputed, or broken by others of a different character, civil wars ensued, which ended to the disadvantage of the crown; but the misfortune was, that in all the struggles, the *bishops* and *nobles* treated for the *people*, not the people for themselves; and therefore their interests were much neglected, and the advantages gained from the king were much more beneficial to the church and nobility than to those who were

were under their patronage.—I will say more on this head when I write next.

LETTER LXI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THOU wilt be surpris'd to hear that the period when the English nation enjoyed the greatest happiness, after the Norman invasion, was under the influence of *a woman*. As much as we Persians should despise a female ruler, it was not till the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the government came to *an equal balance*, which is its true state of perfection.

Though the commons of England had regained, *by degrees*, and *in a different shape*, that share of the legislature, which was, in a great measure, lost by them under the first Norman kings, yet their power was not so great as it had been in the Saxon witenagemote, or general assembly, nor their condition so happy in many respects; for the chief strength of the government resided in the great lords, and the clergy, who supremely directed all public affairs. The proceedings of the commons could not be free in their *representative body*, while in their *collective body* they were weak and oppress'd. The laws of vassalage, the authority of the church, the poverty and dependency in which they lived, hung heavy upon them, so that they were obliged to act in subserviency to the nobles and bishops, even when they shewed most vigour against the crown, following the passions of both upon many occasions in the parliament,

ment, and in the field, and making, or unmaking kings *as these their immediate masters* desired. But in return for their services they often obtained a redress of their grievances, revenged themselves upon bad ministers, and obtained good laws for the commonwealth. To whatever purposes their strength might be used, though to the purposes of faction, *by being used it increased*. The crown at last *itself* assisted the growth of it, in opposition to that of the church and the nobility. The bonds of vassalage were broke, or lightened; the barons were by different laws encouraged and enabled to part with their lands; the weight of property was transferred to the side of the people. Many accidents concurred to the same effect. A reformation in religion was begun, by which that mighty fabric of church power, erected on the ruins of public liberty, and adorned with the spoils of the crown itself, was happily attacked and overturned. A great part of the immense possessions of the clergy was taken away, and most of it sold to the commons upon easy terms. They had now a very considerable share of the lands of England, and a still greater treasure in their commerce, which they were beginning to extend and improve. Their riches secured their independancy; the clergy feared them, and the nobles could not hurt them. In this state queen Elizabeth found *the parliament*: the lords and commons were nigh upon a level, and the church in a decent subordination. She was the head of this well-proportioned body, and supremely directed all its motions. Thus, what in mixed forms of government seldom happens, there was no contest for power in the legislature; because no part was so high as to be uncontrouled, or so low as to be oppressed. A reformation of religion was compleatly established by this excellent princess, which entirely rescued the nation from that *foreign*
R yoke,

yoke, the pope had imposed upon it for so many centuries, and from the dominion of superstition, *the worst of all slavery*. The next great benefits that she conferred upon her subjects, were the extension of commerce into all parts of the world, and the foundation of their *maritime power*, which is *their true, natural greatness*. Under her it began, and she lived to carry it to such a height, as to make them really *lords of the sea*, an empire more glorious than that of the sophi our master, and *richer* than that of the mogul. In doing this, she did more for England than her greatest predecessors had ever done, far more than those who conquered France, though they could have secured it to their posterity. These were the *arts* by which she ruled, and by these she was able to preserve her authority, nay, and to extend it further upon certain occasions than very absolute princes could do, even while she assisted her people in the corroborating and confirming their liberty. The strength of *her power* was *their satisfaction*, and every other happiness followed *that*, as every misfortune and disgrace is sure to attend on their discontent.

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LETTER LXII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I ENDED my last letter with the felicity of Elizabeth's reign : very different was that of her successor James the First : for his character and conduct were the reverse of hers. He endeavoured to break the balance of the government by her so wisely fixed, and wanted to be *greater* than *her*, without one quality that could render him capable of filling her place. He had neither courage, ability, nor address : he was contemned both at home and abroad ; his very favourites did not love him, though he was governed by them in every thing ; nor did they maintain their dominion by his affections so much as by his fears. Yet this *meanest of kings* made great advances towards *absolute power*, and would have compleatly obtained it, if he could have found means to have introduced the *same luxury* into the *nation*, as he did into the *court*, with the constant attendant of luxury the *same corruption*. But the virtue infused by Elizabeth into the mass of the people, and the indigence of the crown, stopt the contagion from spreading so far : the commons resisted it, though the lords and the bishops did not, and some check was given to the designs of the king, yet not enough for the securing of liberty, or preventing the evils *his conduct* prepared for the following reign. The clergy, whom he attached to his interests by favouring theirs, or what they took

to be theirs, more than a *wise* prince *would*, or a *good* prince *ought* to have done, were very assistant to him, by preaching up notions which he and they seem to have borrowed from *our religion*, of a right divine in kings, neither derived from human laws, nor to be limited by them, and other such Mahometan tenets, that had never been heard of before in this country : yet there were many who disliked these innovations, and their opposition hindered them from taking deep root in any minds but those of the royal family. These obstinate protestants and patriots were branded with the name of Puritans, and much hated by James, and Charles his son, who, upon the decease of the former, succeeded to his kingdoms, his notions, and his designs. He had many better qualifications than his father, but as wrong a judgment, and greater obstinacy. He carried his affection for the clergy, and abhorrence of the puritans, to an excess of bigotry and rage. He agreed so ill with his parliaments, that he soon grew weary of them, and resolved to be troubled with no more ; none were called for twelve years together, and all that time he governed as despotically as the sopher of Persia. The laws were either openly infringed, or explained in the manner he directed : he levied money upon his subjects against privileges expressly confirmed by himself. In short, his passion for power might have been fully gratified, if his more prevailing one of bigotry had not engaged him in a senseless undertaking, of forcing the same form of worship upon his subjects in Scotland, as he had declared himself so warmly for in England. It is safer to attack men in their civil rights, than their religious opinions : the Scots, who had acquiesced under tyranny, took up arms against persecution. Their insurrection made it necessary to call a parliament ; it met, but was instantly dissolved by the

the intemperate folly of the court. All hopes of better measures were put an end to by this last provocation. The Scots marched into England, and were received by the English, not as enemies, but as brothers and allies : the king, unable to oppose them, was compelled to ask the aid of another parliament. A parliament met, exasperated with the oppressions of fifteen years : the principal members were men of the greatest capacity, courage, and virtue, firmly united among themselves, and whom the court could neither *corrupt* nor *intimidate*. They resolved to make use of the opportunity to *redress* their *grievances*, and *secure* their *liberty* ; the king granted every thing that was necessary to either of those ends, except such *securities* as might have been turned *against himself* : but what, perhaps, was really *concession*, had the appearance of *constraint*, and therefore gained neither *gratitude* nor *confidence* : the nation could no longer trust the king ; or, if it might, *particular men* could not ; and the support of those particular men was become a *national concern* : they had exposed themselves by serving the public ; the public therefore judged that it was bound in justice to defend them. Nor indeed was it possible, when the work of reformation was begun, after so long a denial of justice, to keep a people, sore with the remembrance of injuries received, and satisfaction refused, within the bounds of a proper moderation. Such a sobriety is much easier in speculation than it ever was in practice. Thus, partly for the safety of their leaders, and partly from a jealousy of his intentions too justly conceived, the parliament drew the sword against the king : but the sword, when drawn, was no longer theirs ; it was quickly turned against them by those to whose hands they trusted it : the honestest and wisest of both parties were out-

witted

witted and over-powered by villains: the king perished, and the constitution perished with him.

A private man, whose genius was called forth by the troubles of his country, and formed in the exercise of faction, usurped the government. His character was as extraordinary as his fortune: he had an air of enthusiasm which gained all those who were real enthusiasts (the number of whom was great in those days) and put him at their head. That he was one himself in some degree may be supposed, notwithstanding the prudence with which he conducted all his designs; because the same spark of enthusiasm which makes common men *mad*, may, in certain conjunctures, only capacitate others of superior abilities to undertake and perform *extraordinary things*. Whether Cromwell was one of these, or acted entirely from political cunning, the times he lived in could not discover, and much less can the present. Thus far is certain, that, by an uncommon appearance of zeal, by great address, and great valour, he first *inflamed* the spirit of liberty into *extravagance*, and afterwards *duped* and *awed* it into *submission*. He trampled on the laws of the nation, but he raised the glory of it; and it is hard to say which he deserved most, a *halter* or a *crown*.

If the enthusiasts of his own party would have permitted him to have taken the title of king as well as the power, it is probable the royalty might have been fixed in his family by a well-modelled and lasting establishment. He shewed a great desire to carry that point: and I have heard him compared in this instance to Julius Cæsar, a great Roman general, who, like him, having mastered his country by its own arms, and being possessed of more than the *power of a king*, was so fond of adding the *name* to it, that it cost him his life. But the two cases are totally different. What in the Roman was
a weak

a weak vanity, and below the rest of his character, was in the Englishman solid good sense. The one could not take that name without destroying *the forms of the Roman constitution*, the other could not preserve *the forms of the English constitution* without taking that name. He therefore did wisely in seeking it ; but not being able to bring his own friends to consent to it, or to do it against their opposition, he could make no settlement of the government to out-last his own life : for it is hardly possible from the nature of things, that a dominion newly acquired should long be maintained in any country, if the antient forms and names are not kept up. Immediately after the death of this great man, all order was lost in the state : various tyrannies were set up, and destroyed each other ; but all shewed *a republick to be impracticable*. At last the nation, growing weary of such wild confusion, agreed to recal the banished son of their murdered king, not for *his sake*, but *for the sake of the monarchy*, which all the nation desired to *restore* ; and so inconsiderate was the zeal of those times, that they restored it without any limitations, or any conditions made for the public. Thus the fruits of a tedious civil war were lightly and carelessly thrown away by too hasty a passion for repose. The constitution revived indeed again, but revived *as sickly as before* : the ill humours, which ought to have been purged away by the violent remedies that had been used, continued as prevalent as ever, and naturally broke out in the same distempers. The king wanted to set himself above the law ; wicked men encouraged this disposition, and many good men were weak enough to comply with it, out of aversion to those principles of resistance which they had seen so fatally abused.

LETTER LXIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE methods pursued by Charles the Second, in the conduct of his government, were in many respects different from his father's, though the purpose of both was much the same. The father always *bullied* his parliaments; the son endeavoured to *corrupt* them: the father obstinately refused to change his ministers, because he really esteemed them as honest men; the son very easily changed *his*, because he thought they were all *alike* dishonest, and that his designs might as well be carried on by one *knave* as by another: the father was a tool of the clergy, and a persecutor, out of zeal for his religion, the son was almost indifferent to religion, but served the passions of his clergy against the dissenters from motives of policy: the father desired to be absolute at home, but to make the nation respectable abroad: the son assisted the king of France in his invasions on the liberties of Europe, that, by his help, he might master those of England: nay, he was even a pensioner to France, and, by so vile a prostitution of his dignity, set an example to the nobility of his realm, to sell *their honour likewise* for a *pension*; an example, the ill effects of which have been felt too sensibly ever since.

Yet with all these vices and imperfections in the character of Charles the Second, there was something so bewitching in his behaviour, that the charms of it prevailed on many to connive at the faults of his

his government : and, indeed, nothing can be so hurtful to a country, which has liberties to defend, as a prince who knows how at the same time to make himself *despotic* and *agreeable* : this was eminently the talent of Charles the Second ; and what is most surprising, he possess'd it without any great depth of understanding.

But the principal instrument of his bad intentions, was a general depravity of manners, with which he took pains to infect his court, and they the nation. All virtues, both public and private, were openly ridiculed ; and none were allowed to have any talents for wit or business, who pretended to any sense of honour, or regard to decency.

The king made great use of these new notions, and they proved very pernicious to the freedom, as well as morals of his subjects ; but an indolence, natural to his temper, was some check to his designs ; and, fond as he was of arbitrary power, he did not pursue it any further than was consistent with his *pleasure and repose*.

His brother, who bore a great sway in his government, had changed his religion abroad, as the king himself had also done, but with this difference, that the latter retained almost as little of that which he embraced, as of that which he forsook ; whereas the former was a bigot to popery, and known to be such, while the change of the king was a secret to most of his subjects. The fear of a *papish successor* raised great discontent, and great disorders in the nation : the house of commons passed a bill for excluding that prince from the crown, founded undoubtedly in justice and reason ; but the firmness of the king *in that single point*, the complaisance of the lords, the jealousy the church entertained of the dissenters, the scruples of those who thought hereditary right *divine* and *indefeasible*, and, above all, the

the fear of being involved in a new civil war, which alarmed many well-meaning people from a mixture of *faction* that had discovered itself in some of *the* *characters*, and in some of *the* *measures* by which the national cause was then carried on, frustrated the attempt *to change the succession*, as the obstinacy of those engaged in that attempt did all expedients to *limit the successor*. The unhappy advantages all this gave to the king made him a great deal more absolute in the last years of his reign than in all the foregoing ones; and, upon his demise, brought his brother in *peace* and *triumph* to the throne. He had not been long seated there before he convinced the most attached to his party, that the apprehensions conceived of him, and the design of excluding him, had been too just. All that the spirit of bigotry could add to a temper in itself *barsh* and *violent*, appeared in his government: all that *a weak understanding, madly conducted*, could undertake was undertaken: arbitrary power was the means used, and the end designed was a change of religion. Happy was it for England that this end so plainly declared itself: it roused even those whom no danger to *liberty* could have ever alarmed, and taught the preachers of *non-resistance to resist*. A revolution was evidently necessary to save the whole, and that necessity produced one.——

King James the Second lost his crown, and the nation gave it to their deliverer the prince of Orange: the government was settled on a firmer foundation, agreeable to the antient Saxon principles from which it had declined; and by a *happiness* peculiar to itself, grew *stronger* from the *shocks* it had *sustained*.

LETTER LXIV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE first advantage gained by the English nation in the change of their government, was the utter extinction of those vain and empty phantoms of *hereditary indefeasible right*, and a power *superior to law*, which king James the First had conjured up, to the great disturbance and terror of his people. With James the Second they were expelled, nor can they ever be brought back again with any prospect of success, but by *that family* alone, which *claims from him*: for which reason it will eternally be the interest of the people of England not to suffer such a *claim* to prevail; but to maintain an establishment which is founded on the basis of their liberty, and from which their liberty cannot be separated, unless the rights of both are destroyed.

As the parliament plainly disposed of the crown in altering the succession, the princes who have reigned since that time, could pretend to none but a *parliamentary title*, and the same force as the legislature could give to that, it also gave to the privileges of the subject.

The word *loyalty*, which had long been misapplied, recovered its original and proper sense; it was now understood to mean no more than a due obedience to the authority of the king, in conformity to the laws, instead of a bigoted compliance to the will of the king, in opposition to the laws.

How

How great an advantage this must be, will appear by reflecting on the mischiefs that have been brought upon *this* country in particular, from the wrong interpretation of *certain names*. But this is not the only benefit that ensued from that happy Revolution. The prerogative of the crown had been till then so ill defined, that the full extent of it was rather stopt by the degree of *prudence* in the government, or of *impatience* in the people, than by the letter of the law: nay, it seemed as if in many instances the law allowed a power to the king, entirely destructive to itself. Thus princes had been often made to believe, that what their subjects complained of as oppression, was a legal exercise of the rights of the crown: and no wonder, if, in disputable points, they decided the question in favour of their own authority.

But now the bounds of prerogative were marked out by express restrictions; the course of it became regular and fixed, and could no longer move obliquely to the danger of the general system.

Let me also observe to thee, that whereas before, *to govern by parliaments* was the policy only of good and wise princes; after this petition, it may be considered in a different light, because all expedients of *governing otherwise* are plainly impracticable, and it may not always imply *a conforming the government to the sense of the people*. I will explain this to thee more distinctly when I write again. In the meanwhile, let me a little recall thy thoughts from past events, and the *history of England*, to the remembrance and love of thy faithful Selim, who is not become so much an Englishman as to forget his native Persia, but perpetually fights for his friends and country amidst all that engages his attention in a foreign land.

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LETTER LXV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE antient revenues of the kings of England, consisted chiefly in a large demesne of lands, and certain rights and powers reserved to them over the lands held of the crown; by means of which they supported the royal dignity without the immediate assistance of the people, except upon extraordinary occasions. But in process of time, the extravagance of princes, and the rapaciousness of favourites having wasted the best part of this estate, and their successors endeavouring to repair it by a tyrannical abuse of those rights and powers, some of them, which were found to be most grievous, were brought off by the parliament, with a fixed establishment for the maintenance of the household, composed of certain taxes yearly raised, and appropriated thereto.

But after the *expulsion of the Stuarts* the expence of the government being augmented for the defence of the succession, the crown was constrained to apply to parliament, not only for the maintenance of its household, which was settled at the beginning of every reign, and in every reign *considerably increased*, not only for extraordinary supplies, to which end parliaments anciently were called; but for the ordinary service of the year.

Thus a continual dependance on the people became necessary to kings, and they were so truly the *servants* of the public, that they received the wages
of

of it in form, and were obliged to the parliament for the means of exercising the royalty, as well as for the right they had to claim it. Nor can this salutary dependance ever cease, except the parliament itself should give it up, by empowering the king to raise money without *limiting the sum*, or *specifying the services*. Such concessions are absurd in their own nature; for if a prince is afraid to trust his people with a power of supplying his necessities upon a thorough knowledge of them, the people have no encouragement to trust their prince, or, to speak more properly, his minister, with so blind and undetermined an authority.

L E T T E R LXVI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

YOU have seen in my last, that from the time of king James's expulsion, annual meetings of parliament were become necessary to the carrying on the government. But that the representatives of the people from too long a delegation of their authority might not forget *by whom*, and *for what* it was given them; and that the people might be enabled to correct a *bad choice*, which experience should prove to be such, it was thought expedient not long after to pass a law for the chusing a *new parliament* at the end of every *three years*. This term has been since prolonged to *seven*, I think for very good reasons; because the country interest could not support the redoubled expence of contesting with court corruption

tion so much oftener than now, and there are no good grounds to suppose that the efforts on that side would be much less for a triennial than a septennial parliament, a majority in *that* being equally necessary to a court as in *this*: so that the attacks would be the same, or near the same, and the resistance much weaker on the side of the people. If then the good proposed by shortening the term be very uncertain, it must be considered that very great and certain evils attend upon frequent elections, *viz.* the inflaming of party-divisions, depraving the morals of the people, and many other inconveniencies of no little weight. However, this is a point about which I have found the best men differ, and which thou wilt therefore consider as more problematical than others I have mentioned before. I now return to my history.

Among other advantages gained to liberty at *this its happy restoration*, a free exercise of their religion was allowed to those who differ from the rites of the English church, which has been continued and secured to them ever since, with some short interruptions, which even the *party* that caused them is now *ashamed of*. Nor has any thing contributed more than this, to the peace and happiness of the government, by gaining it the affection of all its subjects, and taking from the spirit of faction a pretence, and a strength, of which it has often made a very bad use.

I must also observe to thee, that from this period a different temper has shewn itself in the *clergy* of England. They are become better friends to liberty, better subjects, better Englishmen, than they had usually been either before, or since the Reformation. Some among them have writ in defence of the religious and civil rights of mankind with as free a spirit, and as much force of learning and argument,

as

as any layman has ever done; a merit peculiar to themselves, and *to which no other clergy in the whole world can pretend.* The generality of them are now very moderate, quiet, and useful members of the commonwealth, in due submission to the civil authority, and desiring nothing but what they deserve, the protection of government in the enjoyment of their just rights. They who would deny them *that*, are themselves persecutors, disturbers of government, and very bad members of the commonwealth.

This succession was facilitated and secured by the union of Scotland with England; and Great-Britain became infinitely stronger, by being undivided, entire, and wholly an island.

One condition of that union, was the admitting sixteen Scotch peers, chosen by the whole body of the peerage, into the English house of lords, but upon a tenure very different from the rest, being to sit there only for the duration of the parliament, at the end of which, a new election must be made. If those elections are *free and uninfluenced*, this alteration in the English constitution, may prove very much to its advantage, because such a number of independent votes will balance *any part of the house of peers*, over which the court may have obtained too great an influence; but if they should ever be *chosen by corruption*, and have no hopes of *sitting there again*, except by an *unconstitutional dependence* on the favour of a court, then such a number added to the *others*, would grievously endanger the constitution, and the house of lords instead of being, as it ought, a *mediating power* between the crown and the people, would become a sort of *anti-chamber to the court*, a mere office for *executing and authorising* the purposes of a minister.

I have now, my dear Mirza, traced thee out a general plan of the English constitution, and I believe thou

thou wilt agree with me upon the whole, *that a better can hardly be contrived*; the only misfortune is, that *so good a one can hardly be preserved*.

The great distinction between the ancient plan of it, and that which has taken place since the expulsion of the Stuarts is this, that the first was *less perfect*, but *better secured*, because the nobility and people *had the sword in their hands*; whereas the last is more *regular*, subject to *fewer disorders*, and in the frame of it *more free*, but *ill secured*, the sword being *only in the hands of the king*: to which is added a vast encrease of the *wealth* of the crown, and a mighty influence gained to it by the debts of the public, which have brought on new *taxes*, new *powers* for the raising those taxes, of a very dangerous nature, and a prodigious multiplication of *officers* wholly dependent upon the court; from all which the court has acquired new means of *corruption*, without any new *effectual* securities against that corruption being yet gained on the side of the people. And this sort of power is so much more to be feared than any other, as it cannot be exercised without *depraving the morals*, and *debasing the spirit* of the whole people, which in the end would not only enslave them, but render their servitude *voluntary*, *deserved*, and *remediless*.

LETTER LXVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

IN former reigns, when parliaments were laid aside for any length of time, the whole authority of the state was lodged in a privy council, by the advice and direction of which, all affairs were carried on. But these counsellors being *chosen* by the king, and *depending* on his favour, were too apt to advise such things only, as they knew would be most agreeable; and thus the interests of the nation were often sacrificed to the profit and expectations of a few particulars. Yet still, as on extraordinary occasions the king might be forced to call a parliament, the fear of it was some check to their proceedings; and a degree of caution was natural to men who foresaw they should sooner or later be called to an account. But let us suppose, that any future prince could wholly *influence the election of a parliament*, and make the members of it *dependent on himself*, what would be the difference between *that parliament* and a privy council? would it speak the sense of the nation, or of the court? would the interest of the people be considered in it, or that of their representatives? They would only differ in this respect, that *one* having no power above it, *might be absolutely free from all restraint*, which, with the terror of a parliament hanging over it, the *other* never could.

This is the only imaginable method, by which the liberty of the English nation can be attacked
with

with any success; but thou wilt ask to what end should an attack of this nature be made? Why should a king of England go about to destroy a constitution, the maintenance of which would render him both great and happy?

I reply, that a king indeed can have no reasonable inducement to make such an experiment, but a minister may find it necessary for his own support; and happy would it have been for many countries, if the *master's* interest had been considered by the *servant* half so warmly as the *servant's* by the *master*.

If a man who travels through Italy was to ask, what advantage all the wealth in religious houses, and all the idolatrous worship paid there, are to the saints they are dedicated to? The answer must be, *Of none at all*. But the priests, who are really gainers by them, know that they abuse the people to very good purpose; and make use of a *venerable name*, not from any regard they have to it, but to raise their own greatness, swell their own pride, and *cover and secure* their own extortion.

By the weakness therefore of princes, the arts of ministers, and the seduction of the people against their own interests, the constitution of England only can perish, and probably will perish at last. This will happen sooner or later, as more or less care is taken by those whose duty it is to watch over it. I am not ignorant that there are some visionary men, who dream of schemes to perpetuate it beyond all possibility of future change: but I have always thought the same of political projects to render a government, as of chemical projects to render a man *immortal*. Such a *grand elixir* cannot be found; and those who would *tamper* with states in hopes of procuring them that *immortality*, are the most unfit to prescribe to them of all men in the world. But at the same time that I know this, I also know, that

the date of a government may be *prolonged* by proper and salutary remedies, applied by those who understand its true nature, and join to speculative wisdom, *experience* and *temper*. Nor should I think it at all a better excuse for assisting to ruin the constitution of my country, that it *must come to an end*, and perhaps *begins to decay*, than for joining in the murder of my father, that he *must die at last*, and *begins to grow old*.

LETTER LXVIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE other morning, a friend of mine came to me, and told me, with the air of one who brings an agreeable piece of news, that there was a lady who most passionately desired the pleasure of my acquaintance, and had commissioned him to carry me to see her.—I will not deny to thee, that my vanity was a little flattered with this message: I fancied she had seen me in some public place, and taken a liking to my person; not being able to comprehend what other motive could make her send for a man she was a stranger to in so free and extraordinary a manner. I painted her in my own imagination very young, and very handsome, and set out with most pleasing expectations, to see the conquest I had made: but when I arrived at the place of assignation, I found a little old woman very dirty, encircled by four or five strange fellows, one of whom had a paper in his hand, which he was reading to her with all the emphasis of an author.

My

My coming in obliged him to break off, which put him a good deal out of humour; but the lady, understanding who I was, received me with great satisfaction, and told me, she had long had a curiosity to be acquainted with a Mahometan: for you must know, said she, that I have applied myself particularly to the study of *theology*, and by profound meditation and enquiry have formed a religion of my own, much better than the *vulgar one* in all respects. I never admit any body to my house, who is not distinguished from the *common herd of christians* by some extraordinary notion in divinity: all these gentlemen are *eminently heretical*, each in a way peculiar to himself: they are so good to do me the honour of instructing me in their several points of faith, and submit their opinions to my judgment. Thus, Sir, I have composed a private system, which must necessarily be perfecter than any, because it is collected out of all; but to compleat it, I want a little of the *Koran*, a book which I have heard spoken of mighty handsomely by many learned men of my acquaintance: and I assure you, Sir, I should have a very good opinion of Mahomet himself, if he was not a little too hard upon the ladies. Be so kind therefore to *initiate* me in *your mysteries*, and you shall find me very *docile* and very *grateful*.

Madam, replied I in great confusion, I did not come to England as a *missionary*, and was never versed in *religious disputation*. But if a Persian *tale* would entertain you, I could tell you one that the Eastern ladies are mighty fond of.

A Persian *tale*! cried she; have you the insolence to offer me a Persian *tale*! Really, Sir, I am not used to be so affronted.

At these words, she retired into her closet, with her whole train of *metaphysicians*, and left my friend and me to go away, as unworthy of any further communion with her.

LET-

LETTER LXIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

W OULdst thou know, Mirza, the present state of Europe? I will give it thee in very few words.—There is *one nation* in it, which thinks of nothing but how to *prey* upon the *others*, while the others are entirely taken up with *preying* upon *themselves*. There is *one nation* where particulars take a pride in the glory of their country; while in the *others* no glory is considered, but that of raising or improving a vast estate. There is *one nation* which, though able in negotiation, puts its principal confidence in *the sword*; while *the others* trust wholly to *the pen*, though much less capable of using it with advantage. There is *one nation* which invariably pursues *a great plan of general dominion*, while *the others* are pursuing *little interests*, through a labyrinth of *changes* and *contradictions*. What, Mirza, dost thou think will be the consequence? Is it not probable that *this nation* will in the end be lord of all the rest? It certainly must—one thing only can hinder it, which is, that the fear of falling under that yoke, when the peril appears to be imminent, may raise a different spirit in *all those nations*, and work out their safety from their danger itself.

LETTER LXX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I WAS the other day in a coffee-house, where I found a man declaiming upon the present state of Persia, and so warm for the interests of Tamas Kouli Kan, our invincible general *, that if it had not been for his language and dress, I should have taken him for a Persian.

Sir, said I, are you acquainted with Tamas Kouli Kan, that you concern yourself thus about him? No, said he, I was never out of England; but I love the Persians, for being enemies to the Turks.

What hurt have the Turks done you, answered I, that you bear such enmity against them?

Sir, replied he, I am afraid they should hurt the emperor, whose friend I have always declared myself.

I enquired of a gentleman that sat by me, who this FRIEND OF THE EMPEROR might be? and was told that he was a *dancing-master* in St. James's-street.

For my part (said a young gentleman finely dressed, that stood sipping a dish of tea by the fire-side) I do not care if Tamas Kouli Kan, and the great Turk, and all the Persians and emperors in Europe were at the bottom of the sea, provided Farinelli be but safe.

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* By these words it appears, that these letters were writ before Tamas Kouli Kan usurped the throne.

The indifference of this gentleman surprised me more than the importance of the other.

If you are concerned for Farinelli, said a third (who they told me was a chemist) persuade him to take my *drop*, and that will secure him from the humidity of the English air, which may very much prejudice his voice.

Will it not also make a *man* of him *again*, said a gentleman to the doctor? After the miracles we have been told it has performed, there is nothing more wanting but *such a cure* to compleat its reputation.

L E T T E R LXXI.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

A FRIEND of mine was talking to me some days ago, of the spirit of enthusiasm, which appeared so strongly in the first professors of our religion; and, as he pretended, in the prophet himself: to that chiefly he ascribed their mighty conquests, and observed, that there needed nothing more to render them invincible, such a spirit being constantly attended with a contempt of pleasure and of ease, of danger and of pain.—If, said he, the enthusiasts of this country, in the reign of Charles the First, had been united among themselves, like the Arabians under Mahomet and his successors, I make no doubt but they might have conquered all Europe; but unhappily their enthusiasm was directed to different points; some were bigots to the church of England, some to Calvin, some to particular whimsies of their own; one set of them ran mad for a republic,

public, others were no less out of their wits in the love of monarchy ; so that instead of making themselves formidable to their neighbours, they turned the edge of their fury against each other, and destroyed all peace and order here at home. Yet as much as our ancestors suffered then by the wrong direction of their zeal, I wish the present age may not suffer more by the *total want* of it among us. There is so cold and lifeless an unconcern to every thing but a narrow, private interest ; we are so little in earnest about religion, virtue, honour, or the good of our country ; that unless some spark of the ancient fire should revive, I am afraid we shall jest away our liberties, and all that is serious to our happiness. If the great Mr. Hampden had conversed with our modern race of wits, he would have been told, that it was a *ridiculous enthusiasm*, to trouble himself about a trifling sum of money, because it was raised against the privileges of the people ; and that he might *get* a thousand times more than he disputed for, by a *prudent submission*.

LETTER LXXII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THERE is a new science produced in Europe of late years, entirely unknown to any former age, or to any other part of the world, which is called TREATY LEARNING. I have been let into a general idea of it, by a very ingenious friend of mine, who has acquired a considerable talent in it, having served an apprenticeship of twenty years under different masters in foreign courts, and made,

in a political sense, *the tour of Europe*. He tells me, it is a very extensive study; for not only *the rights* of every prince, but *their inclinations to the rights of any other*, are therein set forth and comprehended. This has branched itself out into an infinity of *separate* and *secret articles, engagements, counter-engagements, memorials, remonstrances, declarations*; all which the learned in this science are required to know perfectly by heart, that they may be ready upon occasion to apply them, or elude their application, as the interest of their masters shall demand.

He shewed me ten or twelve volumes lately published, consisting only of the treaties which have been made since the beginning of this century, four or five of which were quite filled with those of England.

Sure, said I, this huge heap of negotiations could never have been employed about the business of this little spot of earth for so small a space of time as *thirty years*? No,—the affairs of all Europe must be settled in them, *for the next century at least*.—*For the next session of parliament*, answered he; *these political machines* are seldom mounted to go longer than *that period*, without being *taken to pieces, or new wound-up*.

But how, said I, could England, which is an island, be enough concerned in what passes on the continent, to undergo all this labour in adjusting it.

O, replied he, we grew weary of being confined *within the narrow verge of our own interests*; we thought it looked more *considerable* to *expatiate*, and give our talents *room to play*. But this was not the only end of our continual and restless agitation: it may frequently be the interest of a minister, if he finds things in a calm, to *trouble the waters*, and work up a storm about him; if not to perplex and confound those *above him*, yet to embarrass and intimidate the *competitors or rivals* of his power.

Perhaps

Perhaps too, there might be a still deeper motive : these engagements are for the most part pretty chargeable ; and those who are obliged to make them good, complain that they are much *the poorer for them* ; but it is not sure, that *those who form them* are so too.—

As far, said I, as my little observation can enable me to judge of these affairs, the multiplicity of your treaties is as hurtful as the multiplicity of your laws. In Asia, *a few plain words* are found sufficient to settle the differences of particulars in a state, or of one state with another ; but here you run *into volumes* upon both ; and what is the effect of it ? Why after *great trouble* and *great expence*, you are as far from a *decision* as before ; nay, often more puzzled and confounded. The only distinction seems to be, that in your law-suits, perplexing as they are, there is at last, *a rule of equity* to resort to ; but in the other disputes, the last appeal is to *the iniquitous rule of force*, and princes treat by the mouths of *their great guns*, which soon demolish all the *paper* on both sides, and tear to pieces every *cobweb of negociation*.

L E T T E R LXXIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I WAS lately at a tavern with a set of company very oddly put together : there was a country gentleman, a man of honest principles, but extremely a bigot to his religion, which was that of the church of Rome ; there was a lawyer, who was a very good protestant, moderate to those who differed from him in points of belief, but zealous in the cause
of

of civil liberty ; there was a courtier, who seemed not to believe any thing, and to be angry with every body that did.

This last, very rudely attacked the faith of the poor country gentleman, and laid open to him the frauds of the Roman priesthood, who, by slow, but regular degrees, had erected such a tyranny over the minds and spirits of the people, that nothing was too gross for them to impose, or too arrogant to assume. He set forth the vast difference between a *bishop* in the primitive ages of christianity, and a *pope*, with a triple crown upon his head, and half the wealth of Christendom in his treasury. He lamented the simplicity of those, who, without looking back to the *original* of things, imagine that all is *right* which they find *established* ; and mistake the *corruptions of a system* for the *system itself* : he inveighed against the pusillanimity of others, who though they *see* the corruptions, and *detest* them, yet suffer them to continue *unreformed*, only because they *have been tolerated so long* ; as if any *evil* was *less dangerous*, by being grown *habitual*.

He concluded, by declaiming very eloquently on the use and advantage of *free-thinking*, that is, of doubting and examining every article proposed to our belief, which alone could detect these impositions, and confound the ill purposes of their authors ; mixing, in the course of his talk, with these just reflexions, many licentious *witticisms* against what *all religion* and *all philosophy* have ever accounted sacred and venerable.

His antagonist had little to reply, but intrenched himself in the necessity of *submitting* to the *authority* of the *church*, and the danger of allowing private *judgment* to call in question *her* decisions.

The dispute would have been turned into a quarrel by the zeal of *one*, and the asperity of the *other*, had not the lawyer very seasonably interposed, who, ad-

addressing himself to the advocate for freedom, desired to know, whether *liberty in temporals* was not of importance to mankind, as well as *liberty in spirituals*? How then comes it, that you, who are so warm for the maintenance of *the last*, are so notoriously indifferent to the first? To what shall we ascribe the mighty difference between your POLITICAL and RELIGIOUS FAITH? and whence is it that the former is so *easy*, and the latter so *intractable*? can *those* who are thus quick-sighted in the frauds of *ecclesiastical dominion*, see no juggling at all in their *civil rulers*? are the *impositions* less glaring or more tolerable, which *they* both acquiesce in and support, than those which they so violently oppose? Let us take the very instance, you have given.—Is a *pope* more *unlike* to a *christian bishop*, than a *sole minister* to an *officer of a free state*? if you look back to the *original* of things, what traces will you find of *such an office*? In what antient constitution can you discover the foundations of *such a power*? Is not this a most manifest corruption, growing out of ten thousand corruptions, and naturally productive of ten thousand more? If you say these are *mysteries of state*, and therefore *not to be examined*; I am sure the *mysteries* you attack have yet a better title to your respect, and less mischief will attend on their remaining not subject to *enquiry*.

Or will you borrow the arguments of your adversary, and plead the *necessity of submission*, and the *danger* of setting up *reason* against *authority*? If so, I would only put you in mind, that *all authority flows from reason*, and ought to lose its force in proportion as it deviates from its source.

It is a jest to say, that mankind cannot be governed without *these impositions*; they were governed happily before *these* were *invented*, much more happily than they have been ever since: as well may it be said, that christian piety, which was established
in

in plain dealing and simplicity, must be supported by the knavery and pageantry introduced in late ages by the church of Rome. But the truth is, that most men do in the state just what you say has been done in the church; they *maintain abuses by prescription*, and make the *bad* condition things *are in*, an argument for letting them *grow worse*.

I cannot, said I, debate with the gentleman who has attacked the abuses of ecclesiastical power upon the particular facts he has asserted, nor will I wholly deny the conclusions he draws from those facts. But it seems to me that he has often confounded two things entirely different; a just regard to religion, without which no society can long subsist, and a weak attachment to what either folly or knavery may have grafted upon religion, and sanctified under that name. To distinguish these is the part of a man of sense, and a good man; but to attack both without any distinction, to attack the first because of the last, is at least as far from true wisdom as superstition itself. Can a worse corruption, or a more dreadful disorder, arise in any government than an open contempt of religion, avowed and professed? a nation where *that* prevails is on the brink of destruction. What degree of respect or submission is due to particular religious opinions, even to those that are not *essential*, I will not take upon me now to dispute; but this I am sure of, that a *blind confidence* in *temporal* affairs, agrees very ill with *doubt* in *spirituals*. A free enquirer into points of speculation should, beyond all others, be ashamed of a tame compliance in points of action.

The *unthinking* may be passive from delusion, or at least from inadvertency; but the *greatest monster* and *worst criminal* in society, is a FREE-THINKING SLAVE.

LETTER LXXIV.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

EVERY nation has some peculiar excellence by which it is distinguished from its neighbours, and of which without vanity it may boast: thus Italy produces the finest *singers*; England the stoutest *boxers*; Germany the profoundest *theologians*; and France is incomparable for its cooks. This last advantage carries the palm from all the rest, and that nation has great reason to be proud of it, as a talent of universal currency; and for which all other countries do them homage: on this single perfection depends the pleasure, the magnificence, the pride, nay the reputation of every court in Europe; without a good French *cook* there is no ambassador can possibly do his master's business; no secretary of state can hold his office, no man of quality can support his rank and dignity. A friend of mine, who frequently has the honour to dine at the tables of *the great*, for which he pays no higher price than *his vote in parliament*, has sometimes obliged me with the bill of fare, and (as near as he could) an estimate of the charge which these genteel entertainments are attended with. I told him, that their dinners put me in mind of what I had heard about their politics: they are *artificial, unsubstantial, and unwholesome*, but at the same time most *ruinously expensive*. Sure, said I, your *great men* must have *digestions* prodigiously sharp and strong, to carry off such a load of various meats as are served up to them every day! they

they must not only be made with *heads* and *hearts*, but with *stomachs* very *different* from other people!

Not in the least, answered he—They seldom touch any of the dainties that are before them: those dainties, like the women in your seraglios, are more intended for *ornament* than *use*. There is always a plain dish set in a corner, a homely joint of English beef or mutton, on which the master of the feast makes his dinner, and two or three choice friends, who are allowed to have a cut with him out of special grace and favour, while the rest are languishing in vain for such a happiness, and piddling upon ortolans and truffles.

I have seen a poor country gentleman sit down to one of these fine dinners with an extream dislike to the French cookery; yet, for fear of being counted unpolite, not daring to refuse any thing that was offered him; but cramming and sweating with the struggle between his aversion and civility.

Why then, said I, this continual extravagance? why this number of victims daily sacrificed to the dæmon of luxury? how is it worth a man's while to undo himself, perhaps to undo his country, that his board may be graced with *patés* of perigord, when his guests had rather have the fowl from his barn-door? your comparison of the seraglio will not hold; for though indeed there is an unnecessary variety, yet they are not *all* served up to us *together*; we content ourselves with *one* or *two* of them at a meal, and reserve the rest for future entertainments. I concluded, with repeating to him a story, which is taken out of the annals of our kings.

Schah Abbas, at the beginning of his reign, was more luxurious than became so great a prince. One might have judged of the vastness of his empire, by the variety of dishes at his table: some were sent him from the Euphrates and Persian gulph, others from the Oxus and Caspian sea. One day when he
gave

gave a dinner to his nobles, Mahomet Ali, keeper of the three tombs, was placed next to the best dish of all the feast, out of respect for the facility of his office : but instead of falling-to, and eating heartily, as *holy men* are wont to do, he fetched a dismal groan, and fell a weeping. Schah Abbas, surprised at his behaviour, desired him to explain it to the company : he would fain have been excused, but the sophi ordered him, on pain of his displeasure, to acquaint them with the cause of his disorder.

Know then, said he, O monarch of the earth, that when I saw thy table covered in this manner, it brought to my mind a dream, or rather a vision, which was sent me from the prophets whom I serve : on the seventh night of the moon Rhamazan, I was sleeping under the shade of the sacred tombs, when, methought, the holy ravens of the sanctuary bore me up on their wings into the air, and in a few moments conveyed me to the lowest heaven, where the messenger of God, on whom be peace, was sitting in his luminous tribunal, to receive petitions from the earth. Around him stood an infinite throng of animals, of every species and quality, which all joined in preferring a complaint against thee, Schah Abbas, for destroying them wantonly and tyrannically, beyond what any necessity could justify, or any natural appetite demand.

It was alledged by them, that ten or twelve of them were often murdered, to compose one dish for the niceness of thy palate ; some gave their tongues only, some their bowels, some their fat, and others their brains or blood. In short, they declared, such constant waste was made of them, that unless a stop was put to it in time, they should perish entirely by thy gluttony. The prophet hearing this, bent his brows, and ordered six vultures to fetch thee alive before him : they instantly brought thee to his tribunal, where he commanded thy stomach to be opened,

ed, and examined whether it was bigger or more capacious than those of other men: when it was found to be just of the common size, he permitted all the animals to make reprizals on the body of their destroyer; but before one in ten thousand could get at thee, every particle of it was devoured; so ill-proportioned was the offender to the offence.—

This story made such an impression on the sopher, that he would not suffer above one dish of meat to be brought to his table ever after.

LETTER LXXVI.

To IBRAHIM MOLLAC at Ispahan.

From London.

YES, holy Mollac, I am more and more convinced of it; infidelity is certainly attended with a spirit of infatuation. The prophet hurts the understandings of those who refuse to receive his holy law; he punishes the hardness of their hearts, by the depravation of their judgments. How can we otherwise account for what I have seen since my arrival among Christians?

I have seen a people, whose very being depends on commerce, suffer *luxury* and the *heavy load of taxes* to ruin their manufactures at home, and turn the balance against them in foreign trade! —

I have seen them glory in the greatness of their wealth, when they are reduced every year to carry on the expences of government, by robbing the very *fund* which is to ease them of a debt of *fifty millions*!

I have seen them *fit out fleets*, *augment their forces*, express continual *fears* of an *invasion*, and suffer continual

tinual depredations upon their merchants from a contemptible enemy, yet all the while hug themselves in the notion of being blest with a *profound and lasting peace*!

I have seen them wrapped up in full security, upon the flourishing state of *public credit*, only because they had a *prodigious stock of paper*, which now, indeed, they circulate as money; but which the first alarm of a calamity may, in an instant, make *meer paper* of again!

I have seen them constantly busied in *passing laws* for the better regulation of their *police*, and never taking any care of their *execution*: loudly declaring the abuses of their government, and quietly allowing them to encrease!

I have seen them distressed for *want of hands* to carry on their husbandry and manufactures, yet permitting thousands of their people to be destroyed, or rendered useless and hurtful to society, by the abominable use of *spirituous liquors*!

I have seen them make such a *provision for their poor* as would relieve all their wants, if well applied; and suffer a third part of them to *starve*, from the roguery and riot of those entrusted with the care of them!

But the *greatest* of all the *wonders* I have seen, and which most of all proves their *infatuation*, is, that *they profess* TO MAINTAIN LIBERTY BY CORRUPTION.

LETTER LXXVII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I Felicitate thee, Mirza, on thy new dignity ; I bow myself reverently before thee, not with the heart of a flatterer, but a friend : the favour of thy master shines upon thee ; he has raised thee to the right hand of his throne ; the treasures of Persia are committed to thy custody : if thou behavest thyself honestly and wisely, I shall think thee much *greater* from thy *advancement* ; if otherwise, much *lower*, than before. Thou hast undertaken a charge very important to thy prince, and to his people ; both are equally concerned in thy administration, both have equally a right to thy fidelity. If ever thou shalt separate their interests, if thou shalt set up the one against the other, know, it will end in the ruin of *both*. Do not imagine, that thy master will be richer by draining his subjects of their wealth : such *gains* are *irreparable losses* ; they may serve a present sordid purpose, but dry up the sources of opulence for futurity. I would recommend to thy attention and remembrance, the saying of a famous English *treasurer* in the happy reign of queen Elizabeth. *I do not love, said that truly able minister, to see the treasury swell like a distempered spleen, when the other parts of the state are in a consumption.*—Be it thy care to prevent such a decay ; and, to that end, not only save the public all unnecessary expence, but so *digest* and *order* what is needful, that *perplexity* may not serve to cover *fraud*, nor *incapacity* lurk behind *confusion*. Rather submit to any difficulty
and

and distress in the conduct of thy ministry, than *anticipate* the revenues of the government without an absolute necessity; for such expedients are a *temporary ease*, but a *permanent destruction*.

In relieving the people from their taxes, let it also be thy glory to relieve them from the infinite number of *tax-gatherers*, which, far worse than the Turkish or Russian armies, have *barrassed* and *plundered* our poor country.

As thou art the distributor of the bounties of the crown, make them the reward of service and merit; not the hire of parasites and flatterers to thy master, or *thyself*. But, above all, as thou art now a *public person*, elevate thy mind beyond any *private view*; try to enrich the public before thyself: and think less of establishing thy family at the head of thy country, than of setting thy country at the head of Asia.

If thou canst steadily persevere in such a conduct, thy prince will want *thee* more than thou dost *him*: if thou buildest thy fortune on *any other basis*, how high soever it may rise, it will be tottering from the *weakness of its foundation*.

He alone is a *minister of state*, whose services are *necessary to the public*; the rest are *the creatures of saprice*, and feel *their slavery even in their power*.

LETTER LXXVIII.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

THE virtuous Abdallah is returned to England, after having been absent fourteen moons. I yesterday restored to him his lovely Zelis, the *wife* whom he had given me at his departure, and whom
I had

I had treated like a *sister*. Nothing ever was so moving as the scene, when I joined their hands again after a separation which they had feared would prove eternal. The possession of the finest woman in the world could not give me so much pleasure as this act of humanity and justice : I made two people happy who deserved it ; and am secured of the affections of both to the last moment of their lives. When the transports of their joy were a little over, Abdallah gave me the following relation of all that had happened to him since he left us.—

The History of Abdallah.

YOU know that I sailed from England with an intent to redeem my father from captivity : as soon as I came to Malta, I went and threw myself at the feet of the grand master, beseeching him to take the ransom I had brought, and set my father free.

He answered me, that the person for whom I sued, was no longer in a condition to be ransomed, being condemned to die the next day. I was ready to die myself at this account ; and desiring to know his offence, was informed, that, being unable to redeem himself, he was put to the oar like a common slave, without any regard to his innocence or age : that during an engagement with a Turkish ship, he had persuaded the other slaves to quit their oars, and fight against the Christians ; but that, being overpowered, he was brought to Malta, and condemned to be broke upon the wheel, as an example to the other captives in the galleys : that this dreadful sentence was to be executed upon him the morning after my arrival, and no ransom could be accepted for his life.

O Heaven ! said I, did I come so far to no other purpose, but to be witness of the death of my wretched father, and a death so full of horror ?
Would

Would the waves of the sea had swallowed me up, before I reached this fatal and accursed shore! O Abderamen! O my father! what avails to thee the piety of thy son? how shall I bear to take my leave of thee for ever, at our first meeting, after an absence which seemed so long? Can I stand by, and give thee up to torments, when I flattered myself that I arrived to bring thee liberty? Alas! my presence will only aggravate thy sufferings, and make the bitterness of death more insupportable.

In this extremity, I offered the grand master, not only to pay down all the ransom I had promised before, but to yield myself a voluntary slave, and serve in the galleys all my life, if Abderamen's might be spared.

He seemed touched with my proposal, and inclined to pity me; but was told by a jesuit, who was his confessor, that an example of severity was necessary; and that he ought to pardon my father on no terms but renouncing Mahometism, and being converted immediately to the *church of Rome*.

No, cried I, if *that* is to be the price of a few unhappy years, it is better both of us should perish than accept them.—But can you, said I to the priest, who profess an holiness superior to other men, can you obstruct the mercy of your prince, and compel him to destroy a wretched man, whose only crime was the natural love of liberty? is this your way of making converts to your faith, by the terror of racks and wheels, instead of reason?—

My reproaches signified nothing but to incense him, and I quitted the palace in despair. I was going to the prison to see my father, for the first and last time, when a Turkish slave accosted me, and bid me follow him.—I refused to do it, but he assured me it was of moment to the life of Abderamen. I followed him, and he led me by a back-way to a woman's apartment in the palace.—I continued there
till

till past midnight without seeing any body, in agitations not to be conceived: at last there came to me a lady richly dressed in the habit of my own country. After looking at me attentively some time, O! Abdallah, said she, have you forgot Zoraide, the sister of Zelis?

These words soon brought her to my remembrance, though I had not seen her for many years: I embraced her tenderly, and desired to hear what fortune had carried her to Malta?

You know, said she, that my family is of the island of Cyprus, and that I was married young to a rich merchant of Aleppo. I had by him two children, a son and daughter; and lived very happily some years, till my husband's business carrying him to Cyprus, I persuaded him to let me go, and make a visit to my relations in that island. In our passage a violent storm arose, which drove us westward beyond the isle of Candia; and before we could put into any harbour, a Maltese pirate attacked us, killed my husband, and carried me to Malta. My beauty touched the heart of the grand master; which is the more surprizing, as I took no pains to set it off, thinking of nothing but the loss I had sustained: he bought me of the knight, whose prize I was; and I thought it some comfort in my captivity, that I was delivered from the hands that had been stained in my husband's blood. The passion of my new lord was so excessive, that he used me more like a princess than a slave. He could deny me nothing I asked him, and was so liberal, that he never approached me without a present. You see the pomp and magnificence in which I live: my wealth is great, and my power in this place superior to any-body's. Hear then, Abdallah, what my friendship has done for you, and remember the obligation you have to me. I have employed all my interest with my lover to save the life of Abderamen: he has consented to it, and moreover,

moreover, to set him free upon payment of the ransom you proposed. But, in recompence for the aid which I have given you, you must promise to assist me in an affair that will, probably, be attended with some danger. I assured her, there was nothing I would not risque to do the sister of Zelis any service.

You shall know, said she, what it is I require of you, when the time comes to put it in execution ; till then remain at Malta, and wait my orders.

At these words she delivered to me a pardon under the seal of the grand master, and bid me carry it instantly to my father ; I was so transported that I could not stay to thank her ; I ran, I flew to the prison of Abderamen, and shewing the order I brought with me to his guards, was admitted to the dungeon where he lay.

The poor old man, expecting nothing but death, and believing I was the officer that came to carry him to the place of execution, fainted away before I had time to discover to him either my person or my errand. While he lay in that state of insensibility, I unbound his chains, and bore him into the open air, where, with a good deal of difficulty, he recovered. O my father ! said I to him (when I perceived that his senses were returned) do you not know your son Abdallah, who is come hither to save your life, who has obtained your pardon, and redeemed you from captivity ?—The surprize of joy that seized him in that instant, at my sight and words, was too sudden and violent for his age and weakness to support. He struggled some time to make an answer ; but at last, straining me in his arms, and muttering some half-formed sounds, he sunk down, and expired on my bosom.—

When I saw that he was dead, I lost all patience, and covering myself with dust bewailed my folly, not telling him my good tidings by degrees.

By

By this time it was broad day, and the whole town being informed of my affliction, was gathered about me in great crouds. The grand master himself, taking pity of me, sent to tell me, that he would permit me to bear away my father's body to Aleppo, and excuse me the ransom I had offered, since death had delivered him without it. This indulgence comforted me a little, and I would have embarked immediately for the Levant, if I had not been stopped by my promise to Zoraide. Several days passed without my hearing any news of her. I had already hired a small vessel, and put on board the remains of Abderamen, when, late one night, I was waked out of my sleep by Zoraide in the habit of a man, who told me, that she was come to claim my promise. I asked what she required me to do? To carry me to Aleppo, answered she, that I may see my dear children once again, and enrich them with the treasures which I have gained from the bounty of my lover. Those treasures are useless to me without them; in the midst of all my pomp and outward pleasure I am perpetually pining for their loss; *the mother's heart* is unsatisfied within; nor will it let me enjoy a moment's peace, till I am restored to them in my happy native land. As she said this, she shewed me some bags of gold, and a casket filled with jewels of great value. I must insist, Abdallah, continued she, that you set sail this very night, and take me along with you. The weather is tempestuous, but that circumstance will favour my escape; and I had rather venture to perish in the sea, than live any longer from my family.

The sense of the obligation I had to her made me consent to do what she desired, how perilous soever it appeared to me. As I had a permission from the grand master to go away as soon as I thought fit, I put to sea that night without any hindrance; and the wind blowing hard off the shore, in a little
while

while we were out of sight of Malta. The water was so rough for two or three days, that we thought it impossible our barque could weather it out; but at length the storms abating, we pursued our voyage with a very fair wind, and arrived safe in the port of Scanderoon. Zoraide was transported with the thought of being so near Aleppo, and her children; she embraced me in the most affectionate manner, and expressed a gratitude for the service I had done her far beyond what it deserved. But how great was her disappointment and affliction, when we were told by the people of Scanderoon, that the plague was at Aleppo, and had destroyed a third part of the inhabitants!

Ah, wretched Zoraide! cried she weeping, where are now all thy hopes of being blest in the sight of thy two children? perhaps those two children are no more; or, if they still live, it is in hourly expectation of dying with the rest of their fellow citizens. Perhaps, at this moment they begin to sicken, and want the care of their mother to tend upon them, when they are abandoned by every other friend.

Thus did she torture herself with dreadful apprehensions, and often turning her eyes towards Aleppo, gave herself up to all the agonies of grief.

I said every thing I could think of to relieve her, but she would not be comforted.

The next morning the servants I had put about her, came and told me, that she was not to be found: they also brought me a letter which informed me, that not being able to endure the uncertainty she was in about her children, she had stolen away by night, and gone to Aleppo to share their danger with them. That if she and her family escaped the sickness, I should hear from her again; but that if they died, she was resolved not to survive them. She added, that she had left me a box of diamonds worth two thousand

thousand pistoles, being a fourth part of the jewels which she had brought from Malta by my assistance.

You may imagine how deeply I was affected at reading this letter. I resolved to stay at Scanderoon till I had some news of her, notwithstanding my passionate desire to return to Zelis. I had waited five weeks with great impatience, when we received accounts that the infection was ceased, and the commerce with Aleppo restored again. I immediately went to visit my native town; but, alas! I had little pleasure in the sight of it, after so dismal a calamity. My first enquiry was about Zoraide and her children. They carried me to her house, where I found her son, a youth of sixteen. When I made myself known to him, he fell a weeping, and told me his mother and sister were both dead. I very sincerely joined with him in his grief, and offered to restore to him the jewels she had given me. No, Abdallah, said he, I am rich enough in what I inherit from my father and Zoraide. But these riches cannot comfort me for her death, nor any time wear out of my remembrance the uncommon affection which occasioned it. O, Abdallah! what a mother have I lost, and what a friend are you deprived of! When she came hither, continued he, from Scanderoon, my sister and I believed we had seen a spirit: but when we found it was really Zoraide, our hearts melted with tenderness and joy. That joy was soon over; for, the third day after her arrival at Aleppo, I found myself seized with the distemper. She never quitted my bedside during my illness; and to the care she took of me I owed my life: but it proved fatal to *her* and my poor sister, who both caught the infection by nursing me; and having weaker constitutions, were not able to struggle with it so well. My sister died first, and Zoraide quickly followed: when she perceived herself just expiring, she called me to her, and bid me endeavour to find
you

you out at Scanderoon, and let you know, that she bequeathed to you the portion she intended for my sister, amounting to five thousand pieces of gold, as to the man in the world she most esteemed: she added, that to you she recommended me with her latest breath, imploring you to take care of me for her sake, and the sake of her sister Zelis.—

The poor boy was not able to go on with his story any further. I accepted the legacy, and did my utmost to discharge worthily the trust conferred upon me: but my first care was to bury Abderamen with all the pomp that our customs will admit. After some time spent in settling the affairs of my pupil, and my own, I took a passage on board an English ship, and arrived happily in London.

I am now possess of a fortune that is sufficient to maintain Zelis in the manner I desire, and have nothing more to ask of Heaven but an opportunity of repaying you, O Selim, the friendship and goodness you have shewn me.

LETTER LXXIX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I AM going, in the confidence of friendship, to give thee a proof of the weakness of human nature, and the unaccountable capriciousness of our passions. Since I delivered up Zelis to her husband, I have not enjoyed a moment's peace. Her beauty, which I saw without emotion while she continued *in my power*, now she is *out of it*, has fired me to that degree that I have almost lost my reason. I cannot bear

bear to see her in the possession of the man to whom I gave her: if shame, if despair did not hinder it, I should ask him for her again.—In this uneasiness and disorder of mind, there remains but one part for me to take: I must fly from her charms and my own weakness, I must retire into Persia, and endeavour by absence, and different objects, to efface the impressions she has made. Alas! what shall I find there? a seraglio composed of beautiful *slaves*, the *mercenary prostitutes*, or *reluctant victims* to gross and tyrannical lust. What *rational commerce* can I hope with *these*, what *true affection*, what *solid peace*, what *heart-felt delight*? But were Zelis my wife, in *such a wife* I should find the most *endeared*, most *pleasing*, most *faithful friend*. All the precautions of Eastern jealousy would then be unnecessary; those wretched precautions, which, while they bar the door against dishonour, shut out esteem, the life of friendship, and confidence, the soul of love. Thou wilt be surprised at my talking thus; but what I feel for Zelis, and what I have seen in England, has overcome my native prejudices: I have seen here wives, over whose conduct, though perfectly free, *religion*, *honour* and *love* are stricter guards than legions of eunuchs, or walls of brass: I have seen, by consequence, *much happier husbands* than any Persian can possibly be. We will discourse on this subject more fully when I am with thee, and it will be my greatest pleasure to try to remove out of thy mind all those prepossessions of which my own has been cured by my abode in this country. If I bring thee home *truth*, I am sure thou wilt think that I have travelled to better purpose, than if I came back fraught with the gold of Peru, or the diamonds of Golconda. I have more than compleated the four years stay I proposed making in England, and am now determined to pass through France as far as Marseilles, and embarque from thence for the Levant, as soon

as the business, with which I am charged on the part of some of my friends with the Turkey merchants there, will permit. It is my fixed resolution to go away, without giving Zelis the least intimation of the cause of my departure: Abdallah shall never know that I am his *rival*; it would take too much from the character of a *friend*. Thou art the only one to whom I dare confide my folly; and since it has hurt nobody but myself, I hope thou wilt rather pity than blame me for it.

LETTER LXXX.

SELIM to MIRZA at Ispahan.

From London.

I AM just on the point of leaving England; Abdallah and Zelis have received my adieus; the combat is past; my resolutions strengthen, and thou mayest expect ere long to see thy friend with a *mind* a good deal altered by his travels, but a *heart* which to *thee*, to his *country*, and to his *duty*, is still the *same*.

It would be unjust and ungrateful in me to quit *this island*, without expressing a very high esteem of the *good sense*, *sincerity*, and *good-nature* I have found among *the English*: to these qualities I might also add *politeness*, which certainly they have as good a title to as *any of their neighbours*; but I am afraid that this accomplishment has been acquired too much at the expence of other virtues more solid and essential. Of their *industry*, their commerce is a proof; and for their *valour*, let their *enemies* declare it. Of their *faults* I will at present say no more, but that many of them are *newly introduced*, and so contrary
to

to the genius of the people, that one would hope they might be easily rooted out. They are undoubtedly, all circumstances considered, a very *great*, a very *powerful*, and *happy* nation; but how long they shall *continue so*, depends entirely on the *preservation of their liberty*. To the *constitution* of their government alone are attached all these blessings and advantages: should *that* ever be *depraved* or *corrupted*, they must expect to become the most *contemptible* and most *unhappy* of mankind. For what can so much aggravate the wretchedness of an oppressed and ruined people, as the remembrance of former freedom and prosperity? All the images and traces of their liberty, which it is probable no change will destroy, must be a perpetual reproach and torment to them, for having so degenerately parted with *their birth-right*. And if slavery is to be endured, where is the man that would not rather chuse it under the warm sun of Agra, or Ispahan, than in the Northern climate of England?

I have therefore taken my leave of my friends here, with this affectionate, well-meant advice, That they should vigilantly *watch over their constitution*, and guard it by those strong bulwarks which alone are able to secure it, a *firm union of all honest men*, *justice upon public offenders*, *national and private frugality*.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
CONVERSION AND APOSTLESHIP
OF
ST. PAUL.
IN A
LETTER TO GILBERT WEST, Esq.

OBSERVATIONS

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CONVERSION AND APOSTASY

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LETTER TO GILBERT WEST, ESQ.

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L E T T E R

T O

GILBERT WEST, Esq;

S I R,

IN a late conversation we had together upon the subject of the Christian religion, I told you, that besides all the proofs of it which may be drawn from the prophecies of the Old Testament, from the necessary connexion it has with the whole system of the Jewish religion, from the miracles of Christ, and from the evidence given of his resurrection by all the other apostles, I thought the conversion and the apostleship of St. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a divine revelation.

As you seemed to think that so compendious a proof might be of use to convince those unbelievers that will not attend to a longer series of arguments, I have thrown together the reasons upon which I support that proposition.

In the xxvith chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, writ by a contemporary author, and a companion of St. Paul in preaching the gospel, as appears by the book itself, ch. xx. ver. 6, 13, 14. ch. xxvii. ver. 1. &c. St. Paul is said to have given himself this account of his conversion and preaching, to king Agrippa and Festus the Roman governor: 'My

‘ manner of life from my youth, which was, at the
 ‘ first, among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know
 ‘ all the Jews, which knew me from the beginning
 ‘ (if they would testify) that after the strictest sect of
 ‘ our religion, I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand
 ‘ and am judged for the hope of the promise made
 ‘ by God unto our fathers : unto which promise our
 ‘ twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night,
 ‘ hope to come, for which hope’ sake, king Agrippa,
 ‘ I am accused by the Jews. Why should it be
 ‘ thought a thing incredible with you, that God
 ‘ should raise the dead ? I verily thought with my-
 ‘ self, that I ought to do many things contrary to
 ‘ the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which thing I
 ‘ also did in Jerusalem, and many of the saints did I
 ‘ shut up in prison, having received authority from
 ‘ the chief priests ; and when they were put to
 ‘ death, I gave my voice against them. And I pu-
 ‘ nished them oft in every synagogue, and compel-
 ‘ led them to blaspheme, and being exceedingly mad
 ‘ against them, I persecuted them even unto strange
 ‘ cities. Whereupon, as I went to Damascus with
 ‘ authority and commission from the chief priests,
 ‘ at mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from
 ‘ heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining
 ‘ round about me, and them which journeyed with
 ‘ me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I
 ‘ heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the
 ‘ Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou
 ‘ me ? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.
 ‘ And I said, Who art thou, Lord ? And he said,
 ‘ I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise, stand
 ‘ upon thy feet ; for I have appeared unto thee for
 ‘ this purpose, to make thee a minister, and a wit-
 ‘ ness both of those things which thou hast seen, and
 ‘ of those things in the which I will appear unto
 ‘ thee ; delivering thee from the people, and from
 ‘ the

‘ the Gentiles, unto whom I now send thee, to
 ‘ open their eyes, and to turn them from dark-
 ‘ ness to light, and from the power of Satan unto
 ‘ God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and
 ‘ inheritance among them which are sanctified by
 ‘ faith that is in me. Whereupon, O king Agrippa,
 ‘ I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: but
 ‘ shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jeru-
 ‘ salem, and throughout all the coast of Judea, and
 ‘ to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to
 ‘ God, and do works meet for repentance. For these
 ‘ causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went
 ‘ about to kill me. Having therefore obtained help
 ‘ of God, I continue unto this day witnessing both
 ‘ to small and great, saying none other things than
 ‘ those which Moses and the prophets did say should
 ‘ come: that Christ should suffer, and that he should
 ‘ be the first that should rise from the dead, and
 ‘ should shew light to the people, and to the Gentiles.
 ‘ And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a
 ‘ loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much
 ‘ learning doth make thee mad. But he said, I am
 ‘ not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the
 ‘ words of truth and soberness. For the king know-
 ‘ eth of these things, before whom also I speak free-
 ‘ ly: for I am persuaded that none of these things
 ‘ are hidden from him; for the thing was not done
 ‘ in a corner. King Agrippa, believest thou the pro-
 ‘ phets? I know that thou believest.—Then Agrippa
 ‘ said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a
 ‘ Christian. And Paul said, I would to God that not
 ‘ only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were
 ‘ both almost and altogether such as I am, except
 ‘ these bonds.*’ In another chapter of the same
 book he gives in substance the same account to the
 Jews, adding these further particulars: ‘ And I said,
 ‘ What

* Acts xxii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

‘ What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto
 ‘ me, Arise, and go into Damascus, and there it shall
 ‘ be told thee of all things which are appointed for
 ‘ thee to do. And when I could not see for the glo-
 ‘ ry of that light, being led by the hand of them
 ‘ that were with me, I came into Damascus. And
 ‘ one Ananias, a devout man according to the law,
 ‘ having a good report of all the Jews that dwelt
 ‘ there, came unto me, and stood, and said unto me,
 ‘ Brother Saul, receive thy sight; and the same hour
 ‘ I looked up upon him. And he said, The God of
 ‘ our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou should’st
 ‘ know his will, and see that Just one, and should’st
 ‘ hear the voice of his mouth. For thou shalt be his
 ‘ witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and
 ‘ heard. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be
 ‘ baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the
 ‘ name of the Lord.’

In the ixth chapter of the same book, the author of it relates the same story, with some other circumstances not mentioned in these accounts: as, that Saul *in a vision saw* Ananias before he came to him, *coming in, and putting his hand upon him that he might receive his sight.* And that when Ananias had spoken to him, *immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales* *.

And agreeably to all these accounts, St. Paul † thus speaks of himself in the epistles he wrote to the several churches he planted; the authenticity of which cannot be doubted without overturning all rules, by which the authority and genuineness of any writings can be proved, or confirmed.

To the Galatians he says: ‘ I certify you, § brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not after man. For I neither received of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of
 ‘ Jesus

* Acts ix. 12.
 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

† Ver. 18.

§ Gal. i.

‘ Jesus Christ. For ye have heard of my conversion
 ‘ in time past in the Jews religion, how that beyond
 ‘ measure I persecuted the church of God, and
 ‘ wasted it. And profited in the Jews religion above
 ‘ mine equals in my own nation, being more ex-
 ‘ ceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.
 ‘ But when it pleased God, who separated me from
 ‘ my mother’s womb, and called me by his grace,
 ‘ to reveal his son in me, that I might preach him
 ‘ among the heathen, immediately I conferred not
 ‘ with flesh and blood, &c.’

To the Philippians he says, ‘ If any other man
 ‘ thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in
 ‘ the flesh, I more: circumcised the eighth day, of
 ‘ the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an
 ‘ Hebrew of the Hebrews. As touching the law, a
 ‘ Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church;
 ‘ touching the righteousness which is in the law,
 ‘ blameless. But what things were gain to me,
 ‘ those I counted loss for Christ. Yea doubtless, and
 ‘ I count all things but loss for the excellency of the
 ‘ knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I
 ‘ have suffered the loss of all things, and do count
 ‘ them but dung, that I may win Christ *.’

And in his epistle to Timothy he writes thus:
 ‘ I thank Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath enabled
 ‘ me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me
 ‘ into the ministry, who was before a blasphemer,
 ‘ and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained
 ‘ mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief †.’

In other epistles he calls himself *an apostle by the will of God, by the commandment of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ;—and an apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead §.* All which im-
 plies

* Phil. iii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. † 1 Tim. i. 12, 13.
 § 2 Cor. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 1 Tim. i. 1. Gal. i. 1.

plies some miraculous call that made him an apostle. And to the Corinthians he says, after enumerating many appearances of Jesus after his resurrection, 'And last of all he was seen of me also as one born out of due time.' *

Now it must of necessity be, that the person attesting these things of himself, and of whom they are related in so authentic a manner, either was an impostor, who said what he knew to be false with an intent to deceive; or he was an enthusiast, who by the force of an over-heated imagination imposed on himself; or he was deceived by the fraud of others, and all that he said must be imputed to the power of that deceit; or what he declared to have been the cause of his conversion, and to have happened in consequence of it, did all really happen, and therefore the Christian religion is a divine revelation.

Now that he was not an impostor, who said what he knew to be false with an intent to deceive, I shall endeavour to prove, by shewing that he could have no rational motives to undertake such an imposture, nor could have possibly carried it on with any success by the means we know he employed.

First then, the inducement to such an imposture must have been one of these two, either the hope of advancing himself by it in his temporal interest, credit, or power; or the gratification of some of his passions under the authority of it, and by the means it afforded.

Now these were the circumstances in which St. Paul declared his conversion to the faith of Christ Jesus. That Jesus, who called himself the Messiah, and Son of God, notwithstanding the innocence and holiness of his life, notwithstanding the miracles by which he attested his mission, had been crucified by the Jews as an impostor and blasphemer, which crucifixion

* 1 Cor. xv. 8.

cifixion not only must (humanly speaking) have intimidated others from not following him, or espousing his doctrines, but served to confirm the Jews in their opinion that he could not be their promised Messiah, who according to all their prejudices was not to suffer in any manner, but to reign triumphant for ever here upon earth. His apostles indeed, though at first they appeared to be terrified by the death of their master, and disappointed in all their hopes, yet had surprisingly recovered their spirits again, and publickly taught in his name, declaring him to be risen from the grave, and confirming that miracle by many they worked, or pretended to work themselves. But the chief priests and rulers among the Jews were so far from being converted either by their words or their works, that they had begun a severe persecution against them, put some to death, imprisoned others, and were going on with impracticable rage against the whole sect. In all these severities St. Paul concurred, * being himself a Pharisee, *bred up at the feet of Gamaliel*, one of the chiefs of that sect; nor was he content in the heat of his zeal with persecuting the Christians who were at Jerusalem, but *breathing out threatening and slaughter against the disciples of our Lord*, went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. † His request was complied with, and he went to Damascus with authority and commission from the high priest. § At this instant of time, and under these circumstances, did he become a disciple of Christ. What could be his motives to take such a part? Was it the hope of encreasing his wealth? The certain consequence of his taking that part was not

* Acts vii. 9, 22, 23.
§ Acts xxvi. 12.

† Acts ix. 1, 2.

not only the loss of all that he had, but of all hopes of acquiring more. Those whom he left, were the disposers of wealth, of dignity, of power in Judæa : those whom he went to, were indigent men, oppressed and kept down from all means of improving their fortunes. They among them who had more than the rest, shared what they had with their brethren, but with this assistance the whole community was hardly supplied with the necessaries of life ; and even in churches he afterwards planted himself, which were much more wealthy than that of Jerusalem, so far was St. Paul from availing himself of their charity, or the veneration they had for him, in order to draw that wealth to himself, that he often refused to take any part of it for the common necessaries of life.

Thus he tells the Corinthians, ‘ Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place, and labour, working with our own hands *.’

In another epistle he writes to them, ‘ Behold the third time I am ready to come to you, and I will not be burthensome to you, for I seek not yours but you ; for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children †.’

To the Thessalonians he says, § ‘ As we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak, not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts. For neither at any time used we flattering words, nor a cloak of covetousness, God is witness ; nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burthensome, as the apostles of Christ. For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travel : for labouring night and day, because we would

* 1 Cor. xv. 8. † 2 Cor. xii. 14. § 1 Thess. ii. 4, 5, 6, 9.

‘ would not be chargeable to any of you, we preach-
 ‘ ed unto you the gospel of God.’ And again, in
 another letter to them, he repeats the same testimony
 of his disinterestedness: ‘ Neither did we eat any
 ‘ man’s bread for naught, but wrought with labour
 ‘ and travel night and day, that we might not be
 ‘ chargeable to any of you *.’ And when he took
 his farewell of the church of Ephesus, to whom he
 foretold that they should see him no more, he gives
 this testimony of himself, and appeals to them for
 the truth of it: ‘ I have coveted no man’s silver or
 ‘ gold, or apparel. Yea, you yourselves know,
 ‘ that these hands have ministered unto my necessities,
 ‘ and to them that were with me †.’ It is then evident
 both from the state of the church when St. Paul first
 came into it, and from his behaviour afterwards, that
 he had no thoughts of increasing his wealth by be-
 coming a Christian; whereas by continuing to be
 their enemy, he had almost certain hopes of making
 his fortune by the favour of those who were at the
 head of the Jewish state, to whom nothing could
 more recommend him than the zeal that he shewed
 in that persecution. As to credit or reputation, that
 too lay all on the side he forsook. The sect he em-
 braced was under the greatest and most universal con-
 tempt of any in the world. The chiefs and leaders
 of it were men of the lowest birth, education, and
 rank. They had no one advantage of parts or
 learning, or other human endowments to recommend
 them. The doctrines they taught were contrary to
 those, which they who were accounted the wisest and
 the most knowing of their nation professed. The
 wonderful works that they did, were either imputed
 to magic or to imposture. The very author and head
 of their faith had been condemned as a criminal, and
 died on the cross between two thieves. Could the
 disciple

* 2 Thess. iii. 8.

† Acts xx. 33, 34.

disciple of Gamaliel think he should gain any credit or reputation by becoming a teacher in a college of fishermen? could he flatter himself, that either in or out of Judæa the doctrines he taught could do him any honour? No, he knew very well that the *preaching Christ crucified was a stumbling block to the Jews, and to the Greeks foolishness*. He afterwards found by experience, that in all parts of the world, contempt was the portion of whoever engaged in preaching a mystery so unpalatable to the world, to all its passions and pleasures, and so irreconcilable to the pride of human reason. *We are made* (says he to the Corinthians) *as the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things unto this day*. Yet he went on as zealously as he set out, and *was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*. Certainly then the desire of glory, the ambition of *making to himself a great name*, was not his motive to embrace Christianity. Was it then the love of power? power! over whom? over a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter, whose shepherd himself had been murdered a little before. All he could hope from that power was to be marked out in a particular manner for the same knife, which he had seen so bloodily drawn against them. Could *he* expect more mercy from the chief priests and the rulers, than they had shewn to Jesus himself? would not their anger be probably fiercer against the *deserter* and *betrayed* of their cause, than against any other of the apostles? was power over so mean and despised a set of men worth the attempting with so much danger? But still it may be said, there are some natures so fond of power, that they will court it at any risk, and be pleased with it even over the meanest. Let us see then what power St. Paul assumed over the Christians. Did he pretend to any superiority over the other apostles? No; he declared himself *the least*
of

of them, and less than the least of all saints *. Even in the churches he planted himself, he never pretended to any primacy or power above the other apostles: nor would he be regarded any otherwise by them, than as the instrument to them of the grace of God, and preacher of the gospel, not as the head of a sect. To the Corinthians he writes in these words: ‘ Now this I say, that every one of you
 ‘ faith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of
 ‘ Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was
 ‘ Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the
 ‘ name of Paul?’ † And in another place, ‘ Who
 ‘ then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but minis-
 ‘ ters by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave
 ‘ to every man? § for we preach not ourselves, but
 ‘ Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves *your servants*
 ‘ for Jesus sake.’ ||

All the authority he exercised over them was purely of a spiritual nature, tending to their instruction and edification, without any mixture of that civil dominion in which alone an impostor can find his account. Such was the dominion acquired and exercised through the pretence of divine inspiration, by many ancient legislators; by Minos, Rhadamanthus, Triptolemus, Lycurgus, Numa, Zaleucus, Zoroaster, Zamolxis, nay even by Pythagoras, who joined legislation to his philosophy, and, like the others, pretended to miracles and revelations from God, to give a more venerable sanction to the laws he prescribed. Such, in later times, was attained by Odin among the Goths, by Mahomet among the Arabians, by Mango Copac among the Peruvians, by the Soffi family among the Persians, and that of the Xeriffs among the Moors. To such a dominion did also aspire the many false Messiahs among the Jews. In short,

* Ephes. iii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 9. † 1 Cor. i. 12, 13.
 § 1 Cor. iii. 5. || 2 Cor. iv. 5.

short, a spiritual authority was only desired as a foundation for temporal power, or as the support of it, by all these pretenders to divine inspirations, and others whom history mentions in different ages and countries, to have used the same arts. But St. Paul innovated nothing in government or civil affairs, he meddled not with legislation, he formed no commonwealths, he raised no seditions, he affected no temporal power. Obedience to their rulers was the doctrine * he taught to the churches he planted, and what he taught he practised himself; nor did he use any of those soothing arts by which ambitious and cunning men recommend themselves to the favour of those whom they endeavour to subject to their power. Whatever was wrong in the disciples under his care he freely reproved, as it became a teacher from God, of which numberless instances are to be found in all his epistles. And he was as careful of them when he had left them, as while he resided among them, which an impostor would hardly have been, whose ends were centered all in himself. This is the manner in which he writes to the Philippians; ‘Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.’ Phil. ii. 12. And a little after he adds the cause why he interested himself so much in their conduct, ‘that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life; that I may rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain. Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all †.’ Are these the words of an impostor desiring nothing but temporal

* Rom. xiii.

† Phil. ii. 15, 16, 17.

poral power? No, they are evidently written by one who looked beyond the bounds of this life. But it may be said, that he affected at least an absolute spiritual power over the churches he formed. I answer, *he preached Christ Jesus and not himself*. Christ was the *head*, he only the *minister*, and for such only he gave himself to them. He called those who assisted him in preaching the gospel, his *fellow-labourers* and *fellow-servants*.

So far was ~~was~~ he from taking any advantage of a higher education, superior learning, and more use of the world, to claim to himself any supremacy above the other apostles, that he made light of all those attainments, and declared, *that he came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, but determined to know nothing among those he converted save Jesus Christ, and him crucified*. And the reason he gave for it was, *that their faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God*. Now this conduct put him quite on a level with the other apostles, who knew Jesus Christ as well as he, and had the power of God going along with their preaching in an equal degree of virtue and grace. But an impostor, whose aim had been power, would have acted a contrary part; he would have availed himself of all those advantages, he would have extolled them as highly as possible, he would have set up himself, by virtue of them, as head of that sect to which he acceded, or at least of the profelytes made by himself. This is no more than was done by every philosopher who formed a school; much more was it natural in one who propagated a new religion.

We see that the bishops of Rome have claimed to themselves a primacy, or rather a monarchy, over the whole Christian church. If St. Paul had been actuated by the same lust of dominion, it was much easier for him to have succeeded in such an attempt. It was much easier for him to make himself head of a few poor mechanicks and fishermen,
whose

whose superior he had always been in the eyes of the world, than for the bishops of Rome to reduce those of Ravenna or Milan, and other great metropolitans, to their obedience. Besides the opposition they met with from such potent antagonists, they were obliged to support their pretensions in direct contradiction to those very scriptures which were forced to ground them upon, and to the indisputable practice of the whole Christian church for many centuries. These were such difficulties as required the utmost abilities and skill to surmount. But the first preachers of the gospel had easier means to corrupt a faith not yet fully known, and which in many places could only be known by what they severally published themselves. It was necessary indeed, while they continued together, and taught the same people, that they should agree; otherwise the credit of their sect would have been overthrown: but when they separated, and formed different churches in distant countries, the same necessity no longer remained.

It was in the power of St. Paul to model most of the churches he formed, so as to favour his own ambition: for he preached the gospel in parts of the world where no other apostles had been, *where Christ was not named* till he brought the knowledge of him, *avoiding to build upon another man's foundation* *. Now had he been an impostor, would he have confined himself to just the same gospel as was delivered by the other apostles, where he had such a latitude to preach what he pleased without contradiction? would he not have twisted and warped the doctrines of Christ to his own ends, to the particular use and expediency of his own followers, and to the peculiar support and increase of his own power? That this was not done by St. Paul, or by any other of the apostles, in so many various parts of the world
as

* Rom. xv. 20.

as they travelled into, and in churches absolutely under their own direction; that the gospel preached by them all should be one and the same, * the doctrines agreeing

* If any one imagines that he sees any difference between the doctrines of St. James and St. Paul, concerning justification by faith or by works, let him read Mr. Locke's excellent comment upon the epistles of the latter; or let him only consider these words in the first epistle to the Corinthians, c. iv. ver. 27. *But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.*

If St. Paul had believed or taught, that faith without works was sufficient to save a disciple of Christ, to what purpose did he *keep under his body*, since his salvation was not to depend upon *that* being subject to the power of his reason, but merely upon the *faith* he professed? His *faith* was firm, and so strongly founded upon the most certain conviction, that he had no reason to doubt its continuance; how could he then think it possible, that while he retained that *saving faith*, he might nevertheless *be a cast-away*? or if he had supposed that his *election* and *calling* was of such a nature, as that it *irresistibly* impelled him to good, and restrained him from evil, how could he express any fear, lest the lust of his body should prevent his salvation? can such an apprehension be made to agree with the notions of absolute predestination ascribed by some to St. Paul? He could have no doubt that the *grace of God* had been given to him in the most extraordinary manner; yet we see that he thought this *election* was not so certain, but that he might fall from it again through the natural prevalence of bodily appetites, if not duly restrained by his own voluntary care. This single passage is a full answer, out of the mouth of St. Paul himself, to all the mis-

agreeing in every particular, without any one of them attributing more to himself than he did to the others, or establishing any thing even in point of order or discipline different from the rest, or more advantageous to his own interest, credit, or power, is a most strong and convincing proof of their not being impostors, but acting entirely by divine inspiration.

If then it appears that St. Paul had nothing to gain by taking this part, let us consider on the other hand, what he gave up, and what he had reason to fear. He gave up a fortune which he was then in a fair way of advancing. He gave up that reputation which he had acquired by the labours and studies of his whole life, and by a behaviour which had been *blameless, touching the righteousness which is in the law* *. He gave up his friends, his relations, and family, from whom he estranged and banished himself for life. He gave up that *religion which he had profited in above many of his equals in his own nation, and those traditions of his fathers, which he had been more exceedingly zealous of* †. How hard this sacrifice was to a man of his warm temper, and above all men to a Jew, is worth consideration. That nation is known to have been more tenacious of their religious opinions than any other upon the face of the earth. The strictest and proudest sect among them was that of the Pharisees, under whose discipline St. Paul was bred. The departing therefore so suddenly from their favourite tenets, renouncing their pride, and from their disciple becoming their adversary, was a most difficult effort for one to make, so nursed up in the esteem of them, and whose early prejudices were so strongly confirmed by all the power of habit,
all

takes that have been made of his meaning in some obscure expressions concerning grace, election, and justification.

* Phil. iii. 6. † Gal. i. 14.

all the authority of example, and all the allurements of honour and interest. These were the sacrifices he had to make in becoming a Christian: let us now see what inconveniencies he had to fear: the implacable vengeance of those he deserted; that sort of contempt which is hardest to bear, the contempt of those whose good opinion he had most eagerly sought; and all those other complicated evils which he describes in his 2d epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. Evils, the least of which were enough to have frightened any impostor even from the most hopeful and profitable cheat. But where the advantage proposed bears no proportion to the dangers incurred, or the mischiefs endured, he must be absolutely out of his senses who will either engage in an imposture, or, being engaged, persevere.

Upon the whole then I think I have proved that the desire of wealth, of fame, or of power, could be no motive to make St. Paul a convert to Christ; but that on the contrary he must have been checked by that desire, as well as by the just apprehension of many inevitable and insupportable evils, from taking a part so contradictory to his past life, to all the principles he had imbibed, and all the habits he had contracted. It only remains to be enquired whether the gratification of any other passion under the authority of that religion, or by the means it afforded, could be his inducement.

Now that there have been some impostors who have pretended to revelations from God, merely to give a loose to irregular passions, and set themselves free from all restraints of government, law, or morality, both ancient and modern history shews. But the doctrine preached by St. Paul is absolutely contrary to all such designs *. His writings breathe nothing but the strictest morality, obedience to magistrates, order and government, with the utmost
X 2 abhorrence

* See particularly Rom. xi. and xiii. and Col. iii.

abhorrence of all licentiousness, idleness, or loose behaviour, under the cloak of religion. We no where read in his works that saints are above moral ordinances; that dominion or property is founded in grace; that any impulses of the mind are to direct us against the light of our reason and the laws of nature; or any of those wicked tenets from which the peace of society has been disturbed, and the rules of morality have been broken, by men pretending to act under the sanction of a divine revelation. Nor does any part of his life, either before or after his conversion to Christianity, bear any mark of a libertine disposition. As among the Jews, so among the Christians, his conversation and manners were blameless. Hear the appeal he makes to the Thessalonians upon his doctrine and behaviour among them: our exhortation was ‘not of *deceit* nor of *uncleanness*, nor in *guile*: ye are witnesses, and God also, how *holily*, *and justly*, and *unblameably* we behaved ourselves among you that believe.’ 1 Thess. ii. 10*. And to the Corinthians he says, We have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man. 2 Cor. vii. 2 †.

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* See also 2 Cor. i. 12. and iv. 2.

† If St. Paul had held any secret doctrines, or Esoterick, (as the philosophers call them) we should have probably found them in the letters he wrote to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, his bosom-friends, and disciples. But both the theological and moral doctrines are exactly the same in *them* as those he wrote to the *churches*. A very strong presumptive proof of his being no impostor! Surely had he been one, he would have given some hints in these private letters of the cheat they were carrying on, and some secret directions to turn it to some worldly purposes of one kind or another. But no such thing is to be found in any one of them. The same disinterested, holy, and divine spirit breathes in all these, as in the other more public epistles.

It was not then the desire of gratifying any irregular passion, that could induce St. Paul to turn Christian, any more than the hope of advancing himself, either in wealth, or reputation, or power. But still it is possible some men may say (and I would leave no imaginable objection unanswered), that though St. Paul could have no selfish or interested view in undertaking such an imposture, yet for the sake of its moral doctrines he might be inclined to support the Christian faith, and make use of some pious frauds to advance a religion, which, though erroneous and false in its theological tenets, and in the facts upon which it was grounded, was in its precepts and influence beneficial to mankind.

Now it is true that some good men in the Heathen world have both pretended to divine revelations, and introduced or supported religions they knew to be false, under a notion of public utility: but besides that this practice was built upon maxims disclaimed by the Jews (who, looking upon truth, not utility, to be the basis of their religion, abhorred all such frauds, and thought them injurious to the honour of God) the circumstances they acted in were very different from those of St. Paul.

The first reformers of savage, uncivilized nations, had no other way to tame those barbarous people, and bring them to submit to order and government, but by the reverence which they acquired from this pretence. The fraud was therefore alike beneficial both to the deceiver and the deceived. And in all other instances which can be given of good men acting this part, they not only did it to serve good ends, but were secure of its doing no harm. Thus when Lycurgus persuaded the Spartans, or Numa the Romans, that the laws of the one were inspired by Apollo, or those of the other by Egeria, when they taught their people to put great faith in oracles, or in augury, no temporal mischief, either to them or their people, could attend the reception of that belief.

belief. It drew on no persecutions, no enmity with the world. But at that time when St. Paul undertook the preaching of the Gospel, to persuade any man to be a Christian, was to persuade him to expose himself to all the calumnies human nature could suffer. This St. Paul knew; this he not only expected, but warned those he taught to look for it too: 1 Thess. iii. 4. 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5. Eph. vi. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Phil. i. 28, 29, 30. Col. i. 9, 10, 11. Rom. viii. 35, 36. The only support that he had himself, or gave to them, was, 'That if they *suffered* with Christ, they should be also glorified *together*.' And that 'he reckoned that the sufferings of the present time were not worthy to be compared *with that glory*.' Rom. viii. 17, 18. So likewise he writes to the Thessalonians, 'We ourselves glory in you, in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that you endure; which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, *for which also ye suffer*. Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense [or pay] tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, rest with us, *when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty angels, &c.*' 2 Thess. i. 4, 5, 6, 7. And to the Corinthians he says, 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable.' How much reason he had to say this, the hatred, the contempt, the torments, the deaths endured by the Christians in that age, and long afterwards, abundantly prove. Whoever professed the gospel under these circumstances without an entire conviction of its being a divine revelation, must have been mad; and if he made others profess it by fraud or deceit, he must have been worse than mad, he must have been the most hardened wretch that ever breathed. Could any man, who had in his nature the least
spark

spark of humanity, subject his fellow-creatures to so many miseries? or could one that had in his mind the least ray of reason, expose himself to share them with those he deceived, in order to advance a religion which he knew to be false, merely for the sake of its moral doctrines? Such an extravagance is too absurd to be supposed, and I dwell too long on a notion that upon a little reflexion confutes itself.

I would only add to the other proofs I have given that St. Paul could have no rational motive to become a disciple of Christ, unless he sincerely believed in him, this observation: that whereas it may be objected to the other apostles, by those who are resolved not to credit their testimony, that, having been deeply engaged with Jesus during his life, they were obliged to continue the same professions after his death, for the support of their own credit, and from having gone too far to go back, this can by no means be said of St. Paul. On the contrary, whatever force there may be in that way of reasoning, it all tends to convince us that St. Paul must naturally have continued a Jew, and an enemy of Christ Jesus. If they were engaged on one side, he was as strongly engaged on the other. If shame withheld them from changing sides, much more ought it to have stopt him, who, being of a higher education and rank in life a great deal than they, had more credit to lose, and must be supposed to have been vastly more sensible to that sort of shame. The only difference was, that they, by quitting their master after his death, might have preserved themselves; whereas he, by quitting the Jews, and taking up the cross of Christ, certainly brought on his own destruction.

As therefore no rational motive appears for St. Paul's embracing the faith of Christ, without having been really convinced of the truth of it: but on the contrary, every thing concurred to deter him from acting that part; one might very justly conclude, that

that when a man of his understanding embraced that faith, he was in reality convinced of the truth of it, and that, by consequence, he was not an impostor, who said what he knew to be false with an intent to deceive.

But that no shadow of doubt may remain upon the impossibility of his having been such an impostor; that it may not be said, ‘The minds of men are sometimes so capricious, that they will act without any rational motives, they know not why, and so perhaps might St. Paul;’ I shall next endeavour to prove, that if he had been so unaccountably wild and absurd, as to undertake an imposture so unprofitable and dangerous both to himself and those he deceived by it, he could not possibly have carried it on with any success, by the means that we know he employed.

First then let me observe, that if his conversion, and the part that he acted in consequence of it, was an imposture, it was such an imposture as could not be carried on by one man alone. The faith he professed, and which he became an apostle of, was not his invention. He was not the author or beginner of it, and therefore it was not in his power to draw the doctrines of it out of his own imagination. With Jesus, who was the author and head of it, he had never had any communication before his death, nor with his apostles after his death, except as their persecutor. As he took on himself the office and character of an apostle, it was absolutely necessary for him to have a precise and perfect knowledge of all the facts contained in the gospel, several of which had only passed between Jesus himself and his twelve apostles, and others more privately still, so that they could be known but to very few, being not yet made publick by any writings; otherwise he would have exposed himself to ridicule among those who preached that gospel with more knowledge than he; and as the testimony they bore would have been different
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in point of fact, and many of their doctrines and interpretations of scripture repugnant to his, from their entire disagreement with those Jewish opinions in which he was bred up; either they must have been forced to ruin his credit, or he would have ruined theirs. Some general notices he might have gained of these matters from the Christians he persecuted, but not exact nor extensive enough to qualify him for an apostle, whom the least error in these points would have disgraced, and who must have been ruined by it in all his pretensions to that inspiration, from whence the apostolical authority was chiefly derived.

It was therefore impossible for him to act this part but in confederacy at least with the apostles. Such a confederacy was still more necessary for him, as the undertaking to preach the gospel did not only require an exact and particular knowledge of all it contained, but an apparent power of working miracles; for to such a power all the apostles appealed in proof of their mission, and of the doctrines they preached. He was therefore to learn of them by what secret arts they so imposed on the senses of men, if this power was a cheat. But how could he gain these men to become his confederates? was it by furiously persecuting them and their brethren, as we find that he did, to the very moment of his conversion? would they venture to trust their capital enemy with all the secrets of their imposture, with those upon which all their hopes and credit depended? would they put it in his power to take away not only their lives, but the honour of their sect, which they preferred to their lives, by so ill-placed a confidence? would men so secret as not to be drawn by the most severe persecutions to say one word which could convict them of being impostors, confess themselves such to their persecutor, in hopes of his being their accomplice? This is still more improbable than that he

he should attempt to engage in their fraud without their consent and assistance.

We must suppose then, that till he came to Damascus, he had no communication with the apostles, acted in no concert with them, and learnt nothing from them except the doctrines which they had publicly taught to all the world. When he came there, he told the Jews to whom he brought letters from the high-priest and the synagogue against the * Christians, of his having seen in the way a great light from Heaven, and heard Christ Jesus reproaching him with his persecution, and commanding him to go into the city, where it should be told him what he was to do. But to account for his chusing this method of declaring himself a convert to Christ, we must suppose that all those who were with him, when he pretended he had this vision, were his accomplices. Otherwise the story he told could have gained no belief, being contradicted by them whose testimony was necessary to vouch for the truth of it. And yet, how can we suppose, that all these men should be willing to join in this imposture? They were probably officers of justice, or soldiers, who had been employed often before in executing the orders of the high-priest and the rulers against the Christians. Or if they were chosen particularly for this expedition, they must have been chosen by them as men they could trust for their zeal in that cause. What should induce them to the betraying that business they were employed in? does it even appear that they had any connexion with the man they so lied for, before or after this time, or any reward from him for it? This is therefore a difficulty, in the first outset of this imposture, not to be overcome.

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* The disciples of Christ were not called Christians till after this time; but I use the name as most familiar to us, and to avoid circumlocutions.

But further, he was to be instructed by one at Damascus. That instructor therefore must have been his accomplice, though they appear to be absolute strangers to one another, and though he was a man of an excellent character, *who had a good report of all the Jews that dwelt at Damascus*, and so was very unlikely to have engaged in such an imposture. Notwithstanding these improbabilities, this man, I say, must have been his confident and accomplice in carrying on this wicked fraud, and the whole matter must have been previously agreed on between them. But here again the same objection occurs: how could this man venture to act such a dangerous part without the consent of the other disciples, especially of the apostles, or by what means could he obtain their consent? and how absurdly did they contrive their business, to make the conversion of Saul the effect of a miracle, which all those who were with him must certify did never happen! how much easier would it have been to have made him be present at some pretended miracle wrought by the disciples, or by Ananias himself, when none were able to discover the fraud, and have imputed his conversion to that, or to the arguments used by some of his prisoners whom he might have discoursed with, and questioned about their faith, and the grounds of it, in order to colour his intended conversion!

As this was the safest, so it was the most natural method of bringing about such a change; instead of ascribing it to an event which lay so open to detection. For (to use the words of St. Paul to Agrippa) *this thing was not done in a corner*, * but in the eye of the world, and subject immediately to the examination of those who would be most strict in searching into the truth of it, the Jews at Damascus. Had they been able to bring any shadow of proof to convict him of fraud in this affair, his whole scheme of

* Acts xxvi. 26.

of imposture must have been nipt in the bud. Nor were they at Jerusalem, whose commission he bore, less concerned to discover so provoking a cheat. But we find that many years afterwards, when they had all the time and means they could desire to make the strictest enquiry, he was bold enough to appeal to Agrippa in the presence of Festus, * upon his own knowledge of the truth of his story; who did not contradict him, though he had certainly heard all that the Jews could alledge against the credit of it in any particular. A very remarkable proof both of the notoriety of the fact, and the integrity of the man, who with so fearless a confidence could call upon a *king* to give testimony for him, even while he was sitting in judgment upon him.

But to return to Ananias. Is it not strange, if this story had been an imposture, and he had been joined with Paul in carrying it on, that after their meeting at Damascus we never should hear of their conforing together, or acting in concert; or that the former drew any benefit from the friendship of the latter, when he became so considerable among the Christians? Did Ananias engage and continue in such a dangerous fraud without any hope or desire of private advantage? or was it safe for Paul to shake him off, and risk his resentment? There is, I think, no other way to get over this difficulty, but by supposing that Ananias happened to die soon after the other's conversion. Let us then take that for granted, without any authority either of history or tradition; and let us see in what manner this wondrous imposture was carried on by Paul himself. His first care ought to have been, to get himself owned, and received as an apostle by the apostles. Till this was done, the bottom he stood upon was very narrow, nor could he have any probable means of supporting himself in any esteem or credit among the disciples. Intruders into impostures run double risks; they are
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* Acts xxvi. 26.

in danger of being detected, not only by those upon whom they attempt to practise their cheats, but also by those whose society they force themselves into, who must always be jealous of such an intrusion, and much more from one who had always before behaved as their enemy. Therefore, to gain the apostles, and bring them to admit him into a participation of all their mysteries, all their designs, and all their authority, was absolutely necessary at this time to Paul. The least delay was of dangerous consequence, and might expose him to such inconveniences as he never afterwards could overcome. But, instead of attending to this necessity, he went into Arabia, and then returned again to Damascus; nor did he go to Jerusalem till three years were past. *

Now this conduct may be accounted for, if it be true that (as he declares in his epistle to the Galatians) ' he neither received the gospel of any man, neither ' was he taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus ' Christ.' † Under such a master, and with the assistance of his divine power, he might go on boldly without any human associates; but an impostor so left to himself, so deprived of all help, all support, all recommendation, could not have succeeded.

Further; we find that at Antioch he was not afraid to *withstand Peter to his face*, and even *to reprove him before all the disciples, because he was to be blamed.* § If he was an impostor, how could he venture to offend that apostle, whom it so highly concerned him to agree with, and please? Accomplices in a fraud are obliged to shew greater regards to each other; such freedom belongs to truth alone,

But let us consider what difficulties he had to encounter among the Gentiles themselves, in the enterprize he undertook of going to *them*, making himself *their apostle*, and converting *them* to the religion of Christ. As this undertaking was the distinguish-
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* Gal. i. 17, 18. † Gal. i. 12. § Gal. ii. 11, 14.

ing part of his apostolical functions, that which, in the language of his epistles, he was particularly *called to*; or which, to speak like an unbeliever, he chose and assigned to himself, it deserves a particular consideration: but I shall only touch the principal points of it as concisely as I can, because you have in a great measure exhausted the subject in your late excellent book on the resurrection, where you discourse with such strength of reason and eloquence upon the difficulties that opposed the propagation of the Christian religion, in all parts of the world.

Now in this enterprize St. Paul was to contend, 1st, with the policy and power of the magistrates; 2dly, with the interest, credit, and craft of the priests; 3dly, with the prejudices and passions of the people; 4thly, with the wisdom and pride of the philosophers.

That in all heathen countries the established religion was interwoven with their civil constitution, and supported by the magistrates as an essential part of the government, whoever has any acquaintance with antiquity cannot but know. They tolerated indeed many different worships (though not with so entire a latitude as some people suppose) as they suffered men to discourse very freely concerning religion, provided they would submit to an exterior conformity with the established rites; nay, according to the genius of paganism, which allowed an intercommunity of worship, they in most places admitted, without any difficulty, new gods and new rites; but they no where endured any attempt to overturn the established religion, or any direct opposition made to it; esteeming that an unpardonable offence, not to the gods alone, but to the state. This was so universal a notion, and so constant a maxim of heathen policy, that when the Christian religion set itself up in opposition to all other religions, admitted no intercommunity with them, but declared that the gods of the Gentiles *were not to be worshipped*, nor any society suffered between them and

and the *only true God*; when this new doctrine began to be propagated, and made such a progress as to fall under the notice of the magistrate, the civil power was every where armed with all its terrors against it. When therefore St. Paul undertook the conversion of the Gentiles, he knew very well, that the most severe persecutions must be the consequence of any success in his design.

Secondly, This danger was rendered more certain by the opposition he was to expect from the interest, credit, and craft of the priests. How gainful a trade they, with all their inferior dependants, made of those superstitions which he proposed to destroy; how much credit they had with the people as well as the state by the means of them, and how much craft they employed in carrying on their impostures, all history shews. St. Paul could not doubt that all these men would exert their utmost abilities to stop the spreading of the doctrines he preached, doctrines which struck at the root of their power and gain, and were much more terrible to them than those of the most atheistical sect of philosophers, because the latter contented themselves with denying their principles, but at the same time declared for supporting their practices, as useful cheats, or at least acquiesced in them as establishments authorised by the sanction of law. Whatever therefore their cunning could do to support their own worship, whatever aid they could draw from the magistrate, whatever zeal they could raise in the people, St. Paul was to contend with, unsupported by any human assistance.

And *Thirdly*. This he was to do in direct opposition to all the prejudices and passions of the people. Now had he confined his preaching to Judæa alone, this difficulty would not have occurred in near so great a degree. The people there were so moved by the miracles the apostles had wrought, as well as by the memory of those done by Jesus, that in spite of their rulers, they began to be favourably disposed to-
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wards them ;* and we even find that the high-priest and the council had more than once been withheld from treating the apostles with so much severity as they desired to do, *for fear of the people*. But in the people among the Gentiles no such dispositions could be expected: their prejudices were violent, not only in favour of their own superstitions, but in a particular manner against any doctrines taught by a Jew. As, from their aversion to all idolatry, and irreconcilable separation from all other religions, the Jews were accused of hating mankind, so were they hated by all other nations: nor were they hated alone, but despised. To what degree that contempt was carried, appears as well by the mention made of them in heathen authors, as by the complaints Josephus makes of the unreasonableness and injustice of it in his apology. What authority then could St. Paul flatter himself that his preaching would carry along with it, among people to whom he was at once both the object of national hatred and national scorn? But, besides this popular prejudice against a Jew, the doctrines he taught were such as shocked all their most ingrafted religious opinions. They agreed to no principles of which he could avail himself, to procure their assent to the other parts of the gospel he preached. To convert the Jews to Christ Jesus, he was able to argue from their own scriptures, upon the authority of books which they owned to contain divine revelations, and from which he could clearly convince them, that *Jesus was the very Christ*. But all these ideas were new to the Gentiles; † they expected no Christ, they allowed no such scriptures, they were to be taught the *Old Testament* as well as the *New*. How was this to be done by a man not even authorized by his own nation; opposed by those who were greatest, and thought wisest among them; either quite single, or only attended by one or two more

* Acts iv. 21. 26.

† Acts ix. 22.

more under the same disadvantages, and even of less consideration than he?

The light of nature * indeed, without express revelation, might have conducted the Gentiles to the knowledge of one God the creator of all things; and to that light St. Paul might appeal, as we find that he did. But clear as it was, they had almost put it out by their superstitions, *having changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things, and serving the creature more than the Creator* §. And to this idolatry they were strongly attached, not by their prejudices alone, but by their passions, which were flattered and gratified in it, as they believed that their deities would be rendered propitious, not by virtue and holiness, but by offerings, and incense, and outward rites; rites which dazzled their senses by magnificent shews, and allured them by pleasures often of a very impure and immoral nature. Instead of all this, the gospel proposed to them no other terms of acceptance with God but a worship of him *in spirit and truth*, sincere repentance, and perfect submission to the divine laws, the strictest purity of life and manners, and renouncing of all those lusts in which they had formerly walked. How unpalatable a doctrine was this to men so given up to the power of those lusts, as the whole heathen world was at that time! If their philosophers could be brought to approve it, there could be no hope that the people would relish it, or exchange the ease and indulgence which those religions they were bred up in allowed to their appetites, for one so harsh and severe. But might not St. Paul, in order to gain them, relax that severity? He might have done so, no doubt, and probably would, if he had been an impostor; but it appears by all his epistles, that he preached it as purely, and enjoined it as strongly, as Jesus himself.

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* Acts xiv. 17. xvii. 17. 28. § Rom. i. 23. 25.

But supposing they might be persuaded to quit their habitual sensuality for the purity of the gospel, and to forsake their idolatries, which St. Paul reckons amongst *the works of the flesh* *, for the *spiritual* worship of the *one invisible God*; how were they disposed to receive the doctrine of the salvation of man by the cross of Jesus Christ? could they who were bred in notions so contrary to that *great mystery*, to that *hidden wisdom of God*, which none of the princes of this world knew †, incline to receive it against the instructions of all their teachers, and the example of all their superiors? could they whose gods had almost all been powerful kings, and mighty conquerors, they, who at that very time paid divine honours to the emperors of Rome, whose only title to deification was the imperial power; could they, I say, reconcile their ideas to a crucified *Son of God*, to a *Redeemer of mankind* on the cross? would they look there for him *who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature: by whom and for whom were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers* §? Now, most surely, *the natural man* (to speak the words of St. Paul) *received not these things, for they were foolishness to him; neither could he know them, because they are spiritually discerned* †. I may therefore conclude, that in the enterprize of converting the Gentiles, St. Paul was to contend not only with the policy and power of the magistrates, and with the interest, credit, and craft of the priests, but also with the prejudices and passions of the people.

I am next to shew, that he was to expect no less opposition from the wisdom and pride of the philosophers. And though some may imagine, that men who pretend to be raised and refined, above vulgar prejudices and vulgar passions, would have been helpful

* Gal. v. 19, 20. † 1 Cor. i. 7, 8. § Coloss. 15, 16. ‡ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

ful to him in his design, it will be found upon examination, that instead of assisting or befriending the gospel, they were its worst and most irreconcilable enemies. For they had prejudices of their own still more repugnant to the doctrines of Christ than those of the vulgar, more deeply rooted, and more obstinately fixed in their minds. The wisdom upon which they valued themselves, chiefly consisted in vain metaphysical speculations, in logical subtleties, in endless disputes, in highflown conceits of the perfection and self-sufficiency of human wisdom, in dogmatical positiveness about doubtful opinions, or sceptical doubts about the most clear and certain truths. It must appear at first sight, that nothing could be more contradictory to the first principles of the Christian religion, than those of the atheistical, or sceptical sects, which at that time prevailed very much both among the Greeks and the Romans; nor shall we find that the theistical sects were much less at enmity with it, when we consider the doctrines they held upon the nature of God and the soul.

But I will not enlarge on a subject which the most learned Mr. Warburton * has handled so well. If it were necessary to enter particularly into this argument, I could easily prove, that there was not one of all the different philosophical sects then upon earth, not even the Platonicks themselves, who are thought to favour it most, that did not maintain some opinions fundamentally contrary to those of the gospel. And in this they all agreed, to explode as most unphilosophical, and contrary to every notion that any among them maintained, that great article of the Christian religion, upon which the foundations of it are laid, and without which St. Paul declares to his profelytes,

* See the Divine Legation of Moses, l. iii. See also a late Pamphlet, entitled, A critical Enquiry into the Opinions and Practice of the ancient Philosophers, concerning

profelytes, *their faith would be vain*,* the resurrection of the dead with their bodies, of which resurrection Christ was the *first-born* §. Besides the contrariety of their tenets to those of the gospel, the pride that was common to all the philosophers, was of itself an almost invincible obstacle against the admission of the evangelical doctrines calculated to humble that pride, and teach them, that *professing themselves to be wise they became fools* †. This pride was no less intractable, no less averse to the instructions of Christ, or of his apostles, than that of the Scribes and Pharisees. St. Paul was therefore to contend in his enterprize of converting the Gentiles, with all the opposition that could be made to it by all the different sects of philosophers. And how formidable an opposition this was, let those consider who are acquainted from history with the great credit those sects had obtained at that time in the world, a credit even superior to that of the priests. Whoever pretended to learning or virtue was their disciple; the greatest magistrates, generals, kings, ranged themselves under their discipline, were trained up in their schools, and professed the opinions they taught.

All these sects made it a maxim, not to disturb the popular worship, or established religion; but under those limitations they taught very freely whatever they pleased, and no religious opinions were more warmly supported, than those they delivered were by their followers. The Christian religion at once overturned their several systems, taught a morality more perfect than theirs, and established it upon higher and much stronger foundations, mortified their pride, confounded their learning, discovered their ignorance, ruined their credit. Against such an enemy, what would they not do? would they not exert

concerning the Nature of the Soul, and a future State.

* 1 Cor. xv. 17. 20. § Col. i. 18. † Rom i. 22.

exert the whole power of their rhetorick, the whole art of their logick, their influence over the people, their interest with the great, to discredit a novelty so alarming to them all? If St. Paul had had nothing to trust to but his own natural faculties, his own understanding, knowledge, and eloquence, could he have hoped to be singly a match for all theirs united against him? could a teacher unheard-of before, from an obscure and unlearned part of the world, have withstood the authority of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Zeno, Arcesilaus, Carneades, and all the great names which held the first rank of human wisdom? He might as well have attempted alone, or with the help of Barnabas and Silas, of Timotheus and Titus, to have erected a monarchy upon the ruins of all the several states then in the world, as to have erected Christianity upon the destruction of all the several sects of philosophy which reigned in the minds of the Gentiles, among whom he preached, particularly the Greeks and the Romans.

Having thus proved (as I think) that in the work of converting the Gentiles, St. Paul could have no assistance, but was sure on the contrary of the utmost repugnance and opposition to it imaginable, from the magistrates, from the priests, from the people, and from the philosophers; it necessarily follows, that to succeed in that work he must have called in some extraordinary aid, some stronger power than that of reason and argument. Accordingly we find, he tells the Corinthians, *that his speech and preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power.* 1 Cor. ii. 4. And to the Thessalonians, he says, *our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost.* 1 Thess. i. 5. It was to the efficacy of the divine power that he ascribed all his success in those countries, and wherever else he planted the gospel of Christ. If that power really
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went with him, it would enable him to overcome all those difficulties that obstructed his enterprize, but *then he was not an impostor*: our enquiry therefore must be, whether (supposing him to have been an impostor) he could by *pretending to miracles* have overcome all those difficulties, and carried on his work with success.

Now to give miracles, falsely pretended to, any reputation, two circumstances are principally necessary, *an apt disposition* in those whom they are designed to impose upon, and a *powerful confederacy* to carry on, and abet the cheat. Both these circumstances, or at least one of them, have always accompanied all the false miracles, ancient and modern, which have obtained any credit among mankind. To both these was owing the general faith of the heathen world in oracles, auspices, auguries, and other impostures, by which the priests, combined with the magistrates, supported the national worship, and deluded a people prepossessed in their favour, and willing to be deceived. Both the same causes likewise cooperate in the belief that is given to Popish miracles among those of their own church. But neither of these assisted S. Paul. What prepossessions could there have been in the minds of the Gentiles, either in favour of him, or the doctrines he taught? or rather, what prepossessions could be stronger than those, which they undoubtedly had against both? If he had remained in Judæa, it might have been suggested by unbelievers, that the Jews were *a credulous people*, apt to seek after miracles, and to afford them an easy belief; and that the fame of those said to be done by Jesus himself, and by his apostles, before Paul declared his conversion, had predisposed their minds, and warmed their imaginations to the admission of others supposed to be wrought by the same power.

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The signal miracle of the apostles speaking with tongues on the day of *Pentecost*, * had made three thousand converts; that of healing the lame man at the gate of the temple, five thousand more. Nay such was the faith of the multitude, that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, *that at least the shadow of Peter passing by might over-shadow some of them*, *Acts* x. ver. 15. Here was therefore a good foundation laid for Paul to proceed upon in pretending to similar miraculous works; though the priests and the rulers were hardened against them, the people were inclined to give credit to them, and there was reason to hope for success among *them*, both at Jerusalem, and in all the regions belonging to the Jews. But no such dispositions were to be found in the Gentiles. There was among them no matter prepared for imposture to work upon, no knowledge of Christ, no thought of his power, or of the power of those who came in his name. Thus, when at Lystra, St. Paul healed the man who was a cripple from his birth §, so far were the people there from supposing that they could be able to do such a thing *as an apostle of Christ*, or by any virtue derived from *him*, that they took Paul and Barnabas to be gods of their own, come down *in the likeness of men*, and would have *sacrificed* to them *as such*.

Now I ask, did the citizens of Lystra concur in this matter to the deceiving themselves? were their imaginations overheated with any conceits of a miraculous power belonging to Paul, which could dispose them to think he worked such a miracle when he did not? As the contrary is evident, so in all other places to which he carried the gospel, it may be proved to demonstration, that he could find no disposition, no aptness, no bias to aid his imposture, if the miracles,

* *Acts* ii. 14. iv. 4. § *Acts* xiv.

cles, by which he every where confirmed his preaching, had not been true.

On the other hand, let us examine whether without the advantage of such an assistance there was any *confederacy* strong enough to impose his false miracles upon the Gentiles, who were both unprepared and undispensed to receive them. The contrary is apparent. He was in no combination with their *priests* or their *magistrates*; no *sect* or *party* among them gave him any help; all eyes were open and watchful to detect his impostures, all hands ready to punish him as soon as detected. Had he remained in Judæa, he would at least have had many confederates, all the apostles, all the disciples of Christ, at that time pretty numerous; but in preaching to the Gentiles he was often alone, never with more than two or three companions or followers. Was this a confederacy powerful enough to carry on such a cheat, in so many different parts of the world, against the united opposition of the magistrates, priests, philosophers, people, all combined to detect and expose their frauds?

Let it be also considered, that those upon whom they practised these arts were not a gross or ignorant people, apt to mistake any uncommon operations of nature, or juggling tricks, for miraculous acts. The churches planted by St. Paul were in the most enlightened parts of the world, among the Greeks of Asia and Europe, among the Romans, in the midst of science, philosophy, freedom of thought, and in an age more inquisitively curious into the powers of nature, and less inclined to credit religious frauds, than any before it. Nor were they only the lowest of the people that he converted. Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Paphos, Erastus, * chamberlain of Corinth, and Dionysius the Areopagite were his profelytes.

Upon

* οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως, treasurer or bailiff of the city.

Upon the whole it appears beyond contradiction, that his pretension to miracles was not assisted by the *disposition* of those whom he designed to convert by those means, nor by any powerful *confederacy* to carry on, and abet the cheat; without both which concurring circumstances, or one at least, no such pretension was ever supported with any success.

Both these circumstances concurred even in the late famous miracles supposed to be done at Abbé Paris's tomb. They had not indeed the support of government, and for that reason appear to deserve more attention than other Popish miracles; but they were supported by all the Jansenists, a very powerful and numerous party in France, made up partly of wise and able men, partly of bigots and enthusiasts: All these confederated together to give credit to miracles, said to be worked in behalf of their party; and those who believed them were strongly disposed to that belief. And yet with these advantages how easily were they suppressed! only by walling up that part of the church, where the tomb of the saint, who was supposed to work them, was placed! Soon after this was done, a paper was fixed on the wall with this inscription:

De par le roy defense à Dieu

De faire miracle en ce lieu,

By command of the king, God is forbidden to work any more miracles here. The pasquinade was a witty one, but the event turned the point of it against the party by which it was made: for if God had really worked any miracles there, could this absurd prohibition have taken effect? would he have suffered his purpose to be defeated by building a wall? When all the apostles were shut up in prison to hinder their working of miracles, the angel of the Lord opened the prison doors, and let them out *. But the power of the Abbé Paris could neither throw down the wall that excluded his votaries, nor operate through that impediment.

* Acts v. 16. — 26.

impediment. And yet his miracles are often compared with, and opposed by unbelievers to, those of Christ and his apostles, which is the reason of my having taken this particular notice of them here. But to go back to the times nearer to St. Paul's. There is in Lucian * an account of a very extraordinary and successful imposture carried on in his days, by one Alexander of Pontus, who introduced a new god into that country, whose prophet he called himself, and in whose name he pretended to miracles, and delivered oracles, by which he acquired great wealth and power. All the arts by which this cheat was managed are laid open by Lucian, and nothing can better point out the difference between imposture and truth, than to observe the different conduct of this man and St. Paul. Alexander made no alteration in the religion established in Pontus before; he only grafted his own upon it; and spared no pains to interest in the success of it the whole *heathen* priesthood, not only in Pontus, but all over the world; † sending great numbers of those who came to consult him to other oracles that were at this time in the highest vogue; by which means he engaged them all to support the reputation of his, and abet his imposture ‡. He spoke with the greatest respect of all the sects of philosophers, except the Epicureans, who from their principles he was sure would deride and oppose his fraud; for though they presumed not to innovate, and overturn established religions, yet they very freely attacked and exposed all innovations that were introduced under the name of religion, and had not the authority of a legal establishment. To get the better of their opposition, as well as that of the Christians, he called in the aid of persecution § and force, exciting the people against them, and answer-
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* Vide the Pseudomantis of *Lucian*. † Pseudom.
Lucian. Varior. 765, 766. ‡ Ibid. 763. § Ibid.
 762, 763, 773, 774, 777.

ing objections with stones. That he might be sure to get money enough, he delivered this oracle in the name of his God, * *I command you to grace with gifts my prophet and minister; for I have no regard for riches myself, but the greatest for my prophet.* And he shared the gains that he made, which were immense, among an infinite number of associates, and instruments, whom he employed in carrying on and supporting his fraud. When any declared themselves to be his enemies, against whom he durst not proceed by open force, he endeavoured to gain them by blandishments, and, having got them into his power, to destroy them by secret ways; † which arts he practised against Lucian himself. Others he kept in awe and dependence upon him, by detaining in his own hands the written questions they had proposed to his god upon state affairs; and as these generally came from men of the greatest power and rank, his being possessed of them was of infinite service to him, and ‡ made him master of all their credit, and of no little part of their wealth.

He obtained the protection and friendship of Rutilianus, a great Roman general, || by flattering him with promises of a very long life, and exaltation to *deity* after his death; and at last, having quite turned his head, enjoined him by an oracle to marry his daughter, whom he pretended to have had by the *moon*; which command Rutilianus obeyed, § and by his alliance secured this impostor from any danger of punishment; the Roman governor of Bithynia and Pontus excusing himself on that account from doing justice upon him, when Lucian ¶ and several others offered themselves to be his accusers.

He

* *Muneribus decorate meum vatem atque ministrum præcipio — nec opum mihi cura, at maxima vatis.*

† Ibid. 776, 780. 781. ‡ Ibid. 767. || Ibid. 768.

§ Ibid. 781. ¶ Ibid. 753.

He never quitted that ignorant and barbarous country, which he had made choice of at first as the fittest to play his tricks in undiscovered; but, residing himself among those superstitious and credulous people, extended his fame to a great distance by the emissaries * which he employed all over the world, especially at Rome, who did not pretend themselves to work any miracles, but only promulgated his, and gave him intelligence of all that it was useful for him to know.

These were the methods by which this remarkable fraud was conducted, every one of which is directly opposite to all those used by St. Paul in preaching the gospel; and yet such methods alone could give success to a cheat of this kind. I will not mention the many debaucheries, and wicked enormities committed by this false prophet under the mask of religion, which is another characteristical difference between him and St. Paul; nor the ambiguous answers, cunning evasions, and juggling artifices which he made use of, in all which it is easy to see the evident marks of an imposture, as well as in the objects he plainly appears to have had in view. That which I chiefly insist upon, is the strong confederacy with which he took care to support his pretension to miraculous powers, and the apt disposition in those he imposed upon to concur and assist in deceiving themselves; advantages entirely wanting to the apostles of Christ.

From all this I think it may be concluded, that no human means employed by St. Paul, in his design of converting the Gentiles, were or could be adequate to the great difficulties he had to contend with, or to the success that we know attended his work; and we can in reason ascribe that success to no other cause, but the power of God going along with and aiding his ministry, because no other was equal to the effect.

Having

* Ibid. 762, 769.

Having then shewn that St. Paul had *no rational motives* to become an apostle of Christ, without being himself convinced of the truth of that gospel he preached, and that, had he engaged in such an imposture without any rational motives, he would have had *no possible means* to carry it on with any *success*; having also brought reasons of a very strong nature, to make it appear, that the success he undoubtedly had in preaching the gospel was an effect of the divine power attending his ministry; I might rest all my proof of the Christian religion being a divine revelation upon the arguments drawn from this head alone. But, to consider this subject in all possible lights, I shall pursue the proposition which I set out with through each of its several parts: and having proved, as I hope, to the conviction of any impartial man, that St. Paul was not an impostor, who said what he knew to be false with an intent to deceive, I come next to consider whether he was an enthusiast, who by the force of an overheated imagination imposed upon himself.

Now these are the ingredients of which enthusiasm is generally composed; great heat of temper, melancholy, ignorance, credulity, and vanity or self-conceit. That the first of these qualities was in St. Paul, may be concluded from that fervour of zeal with which he acted both as a Jew and Christian, in maintaining that which he thought to be right; and hence I suppose, as well as from the impossibility of his having been an impostor, some unbelievers have chose to consider him as an enthusiast. But this quality alone will not be sufficient to prove him to have been so, in the opinion of any reasonable man. The same temper has been common to others, who undoubtedly were not enthusiasts, to the Gracchi, to Cato, to Brutus, to many more among the best and wisest of men. Nor does it appear that this disposition had such a mastery over the mind of St. Paul, that he was not able at all times to rule and controul it

it by the dictates of reason. On the contrary he was so much the master of it, as, in matters of an indifferent nature, to *become all things to all men*, * bending his notions and manners to theirs, so far as his duty to God would permit, with the most pliant condescension; a conduct neither compatible with the stiffness of a bigot, nor the violent impulses of fanatic delusions. His zeal was eager and warm, but tempered with prudence, and even with the civilities and decorums of life, as appears by his behaviour to Agrippa, Festus, and Felix; not the blind, inconsiderate, indecent zeal of an enthusiast.

Let us now see if any one of those other qualities which I have laid down, as disposing the mind to enthusiasm, and as being characteristical of it, belong to St. Paul. First, as to melancholy, which of all dispositions of body or mind is most prone to enthusiasm, & it neither appears by his writings, nor by any thing told of him in the Acts of the Apostles, nor by any other evidence, that St. Paul was inclined to it more than other men. Though he was full of remorse for his former ignorant persecution of the church of Christ, we read of no gloomy penances, no extravagant mortifications, such as the Bramins, the Jaugues, the monks of La Trappe, and other melancholy enthusiasts, inflict on themselves. His holiness only consisted in the simplicity of a good life, and the unwearied performance of those apostolical duties to which he was called. The sufferings he met with on that account he chearfully bore, and even rejoiced in them for the love of Christ Jesus, but he brought none on himself; we find, on the contrary, that he pleaded the privilege of a Roman citizen, to avoid being whipped. I could mention more instances of his having used the best methods that prudence could suggest, to escape danger, and

* 1 Cor. ix. 20, 21, 22. § Josephus con. Apion. l. ii. c. 37.

and shun persecution, whenever it could be done without betraying the duty of his office, or the honour of God *.

Compare with this the conduct of Francis of Assisi, of Ignatius Loyola, and other enthusiasts fainted by Rome, it will be found the reverse of St. Paul's. '*He wished indeed to die, and be with Christ:*' but such a wish is no proof of melancholy, or of enthusiasm; it only proves his conviction of the divine truths he preached, and of the happiness laid up for him

* A remarkable instance of this appears in his conduct among the Athenians. There was at Athens a law, which made it capital to introduce or teach any new gods in their state. Therefore when Paul was preaching *Jesus and the Resurrection* to the Athenians, some of them carried him before the court of Areopagus, the ordinary judges of criminal matters, and in a particular manner entrusted with the care of religion, as having broken this law, and been *a setter forth of strange gods*. Now in this case an impostor would have retracted his doctrine to save his life, and an enthusiast would have lost his life without trying to save it by innocent means. St. Paul did neither the one nor the other; he availed himself of an altar which he had found in the city, inscribed *To the unknown God*, and pleaded that he did not propose to them the worship of any new God, but only explained to them one whom their government had already received; *Whom therefore you ignorantly worship him declare I unto you*. By this he avoided the law, and escaped being condemned by the Areopagus, without departing in the least from the truth of the gospel, or violating the honour of God. An admirable proof, in my opinion, of the good sense with which he acted, and one that shews there was no mixture of fanaticism in his religion (a).

(a) Acts xvii. and Josephus cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 37.

him in those blessed abodes which had been shewn to him even in this life. Upon the whole, neither in his actions, nor in the instructions he gave to those under his charge, is there any tincture of melancholy, which yet is so essential a characteristick of enthusiasm, that I have scarce ever heard of any enthusiast, ancient or modern, in whom some very evident marks of it did not appear.

As to ignorance, which is another ground of enthusiasm, St. Paul was so far from it, that he appears to have been master not of the Jewish learning alone, but of the Greek. And this is one reason why he is less liable to the imputation of having been an enthusiast than the other apostles, though none of them were such any more than he, as may by other arguments be invincibly proved.

I have mentioned credulity as another characteristick and cause of enthusiasm, which that it was not in St. Paul the history of his life undeniably shews. For, on the contrary, he seems to have been slow and hard of belief in the extremest degree, having paid no regard to all the miracles done by our Saviour, the fame of which he could not be a stranger to, as he lived in Jerusalem, nor to that signal one done after his resurrection, and in his name, by Peter and John, upon the lame man at the beautiful gate of the temple; * nor to the evidence given in consequence of it by Peter, in presence of the high-priest, the rulers, elders, and scribes, that Christ *was raised from the dead* †. He must also have known, that when *all the apostles had been shut up in the common prison, and the high-priest, the council, and all the senate of the children of Israel had sent their officers to bring them before them, the officers came and found them not in prison, but returned and made this report: ' The prison truly found* ' *we shut with all safety, and the keepers standing with-* out

* Acts iii. † Acts v. 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32.

*'out before the doors, but when we had opened we found
'no man within.'* And that the council was immediately told *that the men they had put in prison were standing in the temple, and teaching the people.* And that being brought from thence before the council, they had spoke these memorable words, *We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. And we are his witnessess of the things, and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God has given to them that obey him*.* All this he resisted, and was consenting to the murder of Stephen, who preached the same thing, and evidenced it by miracles. So that his mind, far from being disposed to a credulous faith, or a too easy reception of any miracle worked in proof of the Christian religion, appears to have been barred against it by the most obstinate prejudices, as much as any man's could possibly be; and from hence we may fairly conclude, that nothing less than the irresistible evidence of *his own senses*, clear from all possibility of doubt, could have overcome his unbelief.

Vanity or self-conceit is another circumstance that for the most part prevails in the character of an enthusiast. It leads men of a warm temper and religious turn, to think themselves worthy of the special regard, and extraordinary favours of God; and the breath of that inspiration to which they pretend, is often no more than the wind of this vanity, which puffs them up with such extravagant imaginations. This strongly appears in the writings and lives of some enthusiastical hereticks in the mysticks both ancient and modern, in many founders of orders and saints both male and female amongst the Papists, in several Protestant sectaries of the last age, and even

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in some of the *Methodists* now *. All the divine communications, illuminations, and extasies, to which they have pretended, evidently sprang from much self-conceit, working together with the vapours of melancholy upon a warm imagination; and this is one reason, besides the contagious nature of melancholy, or fear, that makes enthusiasm so very catching among weak minds. Such are most strongly disposed to vanity; and, when they see others pretend to extraordinary gifts, are apt to flatter themselves that they may partake of them as well as those whose merit they think no more than their own. Vanity therefore may justly be deemed a principal source of enthusiasm. But that St. Paul was as free from it as any man, I think may be gathered from all that we see in his writings, or know of his life. Throughout his epistles there is not one word that favours of vanity, nor is any action recorded of him, in which the least mark of it appears.

In his epistle to the Ephesians he calls himself *less than the least of all saints* †. And to the Corinthians he says, *he is the least of the apostles, and not meet to be called an apostle, because he had persecuted the church of God* ‡. In his epistle to Timothy he says, ‘ This is
 ‘ a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation,
 ‘ That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sin-
 ‘ ners, *of whom I am chief*. Howbeit for this cause I
 ‘ obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might
 ‘ shew forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them
 ‘ which should hereafter believe in him to life ever-
 ‘ lasting §.’

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* See the account of Montanus and his followers, the writings of the counterfeit Dionysius the Areopagite, Santa Theresa, St. Catherine of Sienna, Madame Bourignon, the lives of St. Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola; see also an account of the lives of George Fox, and of Rice Evans, and Whitefield's Journal.

† Eph. iii. 8. ‡ 1 Cor. xv. 9. § 1 Tim. i. 15, 16.

It is true indeed, that in another epistle he tells the Corinthians, *That he was not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles*, 2 Cor. xi. 5. But the occasion which drew from him these words must be considered. A false teacher by faction and calumny had brought his apostleship to be in question among the Corinthians. Against such an attack not to have asserted his apostolical dignity would have been a betraying of the office and duty committed to him by God. He was therefore constrained to do himself justice, and not let down that character, upon the authority of which the whole success and efficacy of his ministry among them depended. But how did he do it? not with that wantonness which a vain man indulges, when he can get any opportunity of commending himself; not with a pompous detail of all the amazing miracles which he had performed in different parts of the world, though he had so fair an occasion of doing it, but with a modest and simple exposition of his abundant labours and sufferings in preaching the gospel, and barely reminding them, ‘that the
 ‘ signs of an apostle had been wrought *among them*
 ‘ in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty
 ‘ deeds.’ * Could he say less than this? is not such boasting *humility itself*? And yet for this he makes many apologies †, expressing the greatest uneasiness in being obliged to speak thus of himself, even in his own vindication. When, in the same epistle, and for the same purpose, he mentions the vision he had of Heaven, how modestly does he do it! not in his own name, but in the third person, *I knew a man in Christ, &c. caught up into the third Heaven.* ‡ And immediately after he adds, *but now I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me* †. How contrary is this to a spirit of vanity! how different from the practice of

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* 2 Cor. xii. 12. § 2 Cor. xi. 1. 16, 17, 18,
 19, 30. † 2 Cor. xii. 2. ‡ 2 Cor. xii. 6.

enthusiaſtick pretenders to raptures and viſions, who never think they can dwell long enough upon thoſe ſubjects, but fill whole volumes with their accounts of them! Yet St. Paul is not ſatisfied with this forbearance; he adds the confeſſion of ſome *infirmity*, which he tells the Corinthians was given to him as an alloy, *that he might not be above meaſure exalted through the abundance of his revelations* *. I would alſo obſerve, that he ſays this rapture, or viſion of paradise, happened to him above fourteen years before. Now, had it been the effect of a meer enthuſiaſtical fancy, can it be ſuppoſed that in ſo long a period of time, he would not have had many more raptures of the ſame kind? would not his imagination have been perpetually carrying him to Heaven, as we find St. Thereſa, St. Bridget, and St. Catherine were carried by theirs †? and if vanity had been predominant in him, would he have remained fourteen years in abſolute ſilence upon ſo great a mark of the divine favour? No, we ſhould certainly have ſeen his epiſtles filled with nothing elſe but long accounts of theſe viſions, conferences with angels, with Chriſt, with God Almighty, myſtical unions with God, and all that we read in the works of thoſe fainted enthuſiaſts, whom I have mentioned before. But he only mentions this viſion in answer to the falſe teacher who had diſputed his apoſtolic power, and comprehends it all in three ſentences, || with many excuſes for being compelled to make any mention of it at all. Nor does he take any merit to himſelf, even from the ſucceſs of thoſe apoſtolic labours which he principally boaſts of in this epiſtle. For in a former one to the ſame church he writes thus, ‘ Who then is Paul, ‘ and who is Apollos, but miniſters by whom ye be- ‘ lieved, even as the Lord gave to every man? I ‘ have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the ‘ increaſe.

* 2 Cor. xii. 7. † See their Works and Lives.

|| 2 Cor. xii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11.

‘ increase. So then neither is he that planteth *any*
 ‘ *thing*, neither he that watereth, but God that giv-
 ‘ eth the increase.’ And in another place of the
 same epistle he says, ‘ By the grace of God I am
 ‘ what I am, and his grace which was bestowed upon
 ‘ me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundant-
 ‘ ly than they all: *yet not I, but the grace of God which*
 ‘ *was with me.*’ §

I think it needless to give more instances of the modesty of St. Paul. Certain I am, not one can be given that bears any colour of vanity, or that vanity in particular which so strongly appears in all enthusiasts, of setting their imaginary gifts above those virtues which make the essence of true religion, and the real excellency of a good man, or, in the scripture phrase, of a *saint*. In his first epistle to the Corinthians he has these words, ‘ Though I speak with
 ‘ the tongues of men and of angels, and have not
 ‘ charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tink-
 ‘ ling cymbal. And though I have the gift of pro-
 ‘ phesy, and understand all mysteries and all know-
 ‘ ledge, and though I have all faith so that I could
 ‘ remove mountains, and have not charity, I am no-
 ‘ thing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed
 ‘ the poor, and though I give my body to be burned,
 ‘ and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing*.’
 Is this the language of enthusiasm? did ever enthusiast prefer that universal benevolence which comprehends all moral virtues, and which (as appears by the following verses) is meant by charity here; did ever enthusiast, I say, prefer that benevolence to *faith* and to *miracles*, to those religious opinions which he had embraced, and to those supernatural graces and gifts which he imagined he had acquired, nay even to the merit of martyrdom? Is it not the genius of enthusiasm to set moral virtues infinitely below the merit of faith, and of all moral virtues to value that least which
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§ 1 Cor. xv. 10. * 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3, 4.

is most particularly enforced by St. Paul, a spirit of candour, moderation, and peace? Certainly neither the temper, nor the opinions of a man subject to fanatical delusions, are to be found in this passage; but it may be justly concluded, that he who could esteem the value of charity so much above miraculous gifts, could not have pretended to any such gifts if he had them not in reality.

Since then it is manifest from the foregoing examination, that in St. Paul's disposition and character, those qualities do not occur which seem to be necessary to form an enthusiast, it must be reasonable to conclude he was none. But allowing for argument's sake that all those qualities were to be found in him, or that the heat of his temper alone could be a sufficient foundation to support such a suspicion; I shall endeavour to prove, that he could not have imposed on himself by any power of enthusiasm, either in regard to the miracle that caused his conversion, or to the consequential effects of it, or to some other circumstances which he bears testimony to in his epistles.

The power of imagination in enthusiastical minds is no doubt very strong, but it always acts in conformity to the opinions imprinted upon it at the time of its working, and can no more act against them, than a rapid river can carry a boat against the current of its own stream. Now nothing can be more certain, than that when Saul set out for Damascus with an authority from the chief-priests *to bring the Christians which were here, bound to Jerusalem**, an authority solicited by himself, and granted to him at his own earnest desire, his mind was strongly possessed with opinions against Christ and his followers. To give those opinions a more active force his passions at that time concurred, being inflamed in the highest degree by the irritating consciousness of his past conduct towards them, the pride of supporting a part
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* Acts ix. 2.

he had voluntarily engaged in, and the credit he found it procured him among the chief priests and rulers, whose commission he bore.

If, in such a state and temper of mind, an enthusiastical man had imagined he saw a vision from Heaven denouncing the anger of God against the Christians, and commanding him to persecute them without any mercy, it might be accounted for by the natural power of enthusiasm. But that, in the very instant of his being engaged in the fiercest and hottest persecution against them, no circumstance having happened to change his opinions, or alter the bent of his disposition, he should at once imagine himself called by a heavenly vision to be the apostle of Christ, whom but a moment before he deemed an impostor and a blasphemer, that had been justly put to death on the cross, is in itself wholly incredible, and so far from being a probable effect of enthusiasm, that just a contrary effect must have been naturally produced by that cause. The warmth of his temper carried him violently another way; and whatever delusions his imagination could raise to impose on his reason, must have been raised at that time agreeably to the notions imprinted upon it, and by which it was heated to a degree of enthusiasm, not in direct contradiction to all those notions, while they remained in their full force.

This is so clear a proposition, that I might rest the whole argument entirely upon it: but still farther to shew that this vision could not be a phantom of St. Paul's own creating, I beg leave to observe, that he was not alone when he saw it: there were many others in company, whose minds were no better disposed than his to the Christian faith. Could it be possible that the imaginations of all these men should at the same time be so strangely affected, as to make them believe that they saw a *great light shining about them,*

*them, above the brightness of the sun at noon-day, * and hear the sound of a voice from Heaven, though not the words which it spake, when in reality they neither saw, nor heard any such thing? could they be so infatuated with this conceit of their fancy, as to fall down from their horses together with Saul, and be speechless through fear, § when nothing had happened either to them or to him; especially considering that this apparition did not happen in the night, when the senses are more easily imposed upon, but at mid-day? If a sudden frenzy had seized upon Saul, from any distemper of body or mind, can we suppose his whole company, men of different constitutions and understandings, to have been at once affected in the same manner with him, so that not the distemper alone, but the effects of it should exactly agree? If all had gone mad together, would not the frenzy of some have taken a different turn, and presented to them different objects? This supposition is so contrary to nature and all possibility, that unbelief must find some other solution, or give up the point.*

I shall suppose then, in order to try to account for this vision without a miracle, that as Saul and his company were journeying along in their way to Damascus, an extraordinary meteor did really happen, which cast a great light, as some meteors will do, at which they being affrighted fell to the ground in the manner related. This might be possible; and fear, grounded on ignorance of such phænomena, might make them imagine it to be a vision from God. Nay even the voice or sound they heard in the air, might be an explosion attending this meteor, or at least there are those who would rather recur to such a supposition as this, however incredible, than acknowledge the miracle. But how will this account for the distinct words heard by St. Paul, to which he made answer?

* Acts ix. 3. xxii. 9.

§ Acts xxvi. 14. ix. 7.

answer? how will it account for what followed upon it when he came to Damascus, agreeably to the sense of those words which he heard? how came Ananias to go to him there, and say, ‘He was chosen by God to know his will, and see that Just one, and hear the voice of his mouth *?’ or why did he propose to him *to be baptized* †? what connexion was there between the meteor which Saul had seen, and these words of Ananias? will it be said that Ananias was skilful enough to take advantage of the fright he was in at that appearance, in order to make him a Christian? But could Ananias inspire him with a vision in which he saw him before he came? ‡ if that vision was the effect of imagination, how was it verified so exactly in fact? But allowing that he dreamt by chance of Ananias’s coming, and that Ananias came by chance too; or if you please, that, having heard of his dream, he came to take advantage of that, as well as of the meteor which Saul had seen, will this get over the difficulty? No, there was more to be done. Saul was struck blind, and had been so for three days. Now had this blindness been natural from the effects of a meteor or lightening upon him, it would not have been possible for Ananias to heal it, as we find that he did, merely by putting his hands on him and speaking a few words. This undoubtedly surpassed the power of nature; and if this was a miracle, it proves the other to have been a miracle too, and a miracle done by the same Jesus Christ. For Ananias, when he healed Saul, spoke to him thus; *Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, has sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost* §. And that he saw Christ both now and after this time, appears not only by what he relates Acts xxii. 17, 18. but by other passages in his epistles, 1 Cor. ix. 1. xvi.

* Acts xxii. 14. † Ver. 16. ‡ Acts ix.
§ Acts ix. 17, 18. xxii. 13.

xvi. 8. From *him* (as he asserts in many places of his epistles) he learned the gospel by immediate revelation, and by him he was sent to the Gentiles, Acts xxii. 31. xxiii. 11. Among those Gentiles *from Jerusalem, and round about to Illyricum*, he preached the gospel of Christ *with mighty signs and wonders wrought by the power of the spirit of God, to make them obedient to his preaching,** as he testifies himself in his epistle to the Romans, and of which a particular account is given to us in the Acts of the Apostles; signs and wonders indeed, above any power of nature to work, or of imposture to counterfeit, or of enthusiasm to imagine. Now does not such a series of miraculous acts, all consequential to and dependent upon the first revelation, put the truth of that revelation beyond all possibility of doubt or deceit? and if he could so have imposed on himself as to think that he worked them when he did not (which supposition cannot be admitted, if he was not all that time quite out of his senses), how could so *distempered an enthusiast* make such a progress, as we know that he did, in converting the Gentile world? If the difficulties which have been shewn to have obstructed that work were such as the ablest impostor could not overcome, how much more insurmountable were they to a madman!

It is a much harder task for unbelievers to account for the success of St. Paul, in preaching the gospel, upon the supposition of his having been an enthusiast, than of his having been an impostor. Neither of these suppositions can ever account for it; but the impossibility is more glaringly strong in this case than the other. I could enter into a particular examination of all the miracles recorded in the acts to have been done by St. Paul, and shew that they were not of a nature in which enthusiasm, either in him or the persons he worked them upon, or the spectators, could

could have any part. I will mention only a few. When he told Elymas the forcerer, at Paphos, before the Roman deputy, that *the hand of God was upon him, and he should be blind, not seeing the sun for a season; and immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness, and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand*;* had enthusiasm in the doer or sufferer any share in this act? If Paul, as an enthusiast, had thrown out this menace, and the effect had not followed, instead of converting the deputy, as we are told that he did, he would have drawn on himself his rage and contempt. But the effect upon Elymas could not be caused by enthusiasm in Paul; much less can it be imputed to an enthusiastick belief in that person himself, of his being struck blind, when he was not, by those words of a man whose preaching he strenuously and bitterly opposed. Nor can we ascribe the conversion of Sergius, which happened upon it, to any enthusiasm. A Roman proconsul was not very likely to be an enthusiast; but had he been one, he must have been bigoted to his own gods, and so much the less inclined to believe any miraculous power in St. Paul. When at Troas, a young man named Eutychus *fell down from a high window, while Paul was preaching, and was taken up dead*§, could any enthusiasm, either in Paul or the congregation there present, make them believe, that by that apostle's *falling upon him and embracing him*, he was restored to life? or could he who was so restored contribute any thing to it himself, by any power of his own imagination? When, in the isle of Melita, where St. Paul was shipwrecked, *there came a viper and fastened on his hand, which he shook off, and felt no harm*,† was that an effect of enthusiasm? An enthusiast might perhaps have been mad enough to hope for safety against the bite of a viper without any remedy being applied to it: but would that hope have

* Acts xiii.

§ Acts xx. 9.

† Acts xxvii.

have prevented his death? or were the barbarous islanders to whom this apostle was an absolute stranger, prepared by enthusiasm to expect and believe that any miracle would be worked to preserve him? On the contrary, when they saw the viper hang on his hand, they said among themselves, ‘No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live.’ I will add no more instances: these are sufficient to shew that the miracles told of St. Paul, can no more be ascribed to enthusiasm than to imposture.

But moreover, the power of working miracles was not confined to St. Paul; it was also communicated to the churches he planted in different parts of the world. In many parts of his first epistle he tells the Corinthians, that they had among them many miraculous graces and gifts, * and gives them directions for the more orderly use of them in their assemblies. Now I ask, whether all that he said upon that head is to be ascribed to enthusiasm? If the Corinthians knew that they had among them no such miraculous powers, they must have regarded the author of that epistle as a man out of his senses, instead of revering him as an apostle of God.

If, for instance, a Quaker should, in a meeting of his own sect, tell all the persons assembled there, that *to some among them was given the gift of healing by the spirit of God, to others the working of other miracles, to others diverse kinds of tongues*; they would undoubtedly account him a madman, because they pretended to no such gifts. If indeed they were only told by him that they were inspired by the spirit of God in a certain ineffable manner, which they alone could understand, but which did not discover itself by any outward, distinct operations, or signs, they might mistake the impulse of enthusiasm for the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; but they could not believe, *against the*

* 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5.

the conviction of their own minds, that they spoke tongues they did not speak, or healed distempers they did not heal, or worked other miracles, when they worked none. If it be said, the Corinthians might pretend to these powers, though the Quakers do not; I ask, whether in that pretension they were impostors, or only enthusiasts? If they were impostors, and St. Paul was also such, how ridiculous was it for him to advise them, in an epistle writ *only to them, and for their own use*, not to value themselves too highly upon those gifts; to pray for one rather than another, and prefer charity to them all! do associates in fraud talk such a language to one another? But if we suppose their pretension to all those gifts was an effect of enthusiasm, let us consider how it was possible that he and they could be so cheated by that enthusiasm, as to imagine they had such powers when they had not.

Suppose that enthusiasm could make a man think, that he was able by a word or a touch to give sight to the blind, motion to the lame, or life to the dead: would that conceit of his make the blind see, the lame walk, or the dead revive? and if it did not, how could he persist in such an opinion, or upon his persisting escape being shut up for a madman? But such a madness could not infect so many at once, as St. Paul supposes at Corinth to have been endowed with the gift of healing, or any other miraculous powers. One of the miracles which they pretended to was the speaking of languages they never had learned. And St. Paul says, he possessed this gift *more than them all**. If this had been a delusion of fancy, if they had spoke only gibberish, or unmeaning sounds, it would soon have appeared when they came to make use of it where it was necessary, *viz.* in converting those who understood not any language they naturally spoke. St. Paul particularly, who travelled so far

* 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

far upon that design, and had such occasion to use it, must soon have discovered that this imaginary gift of the spirit was no gift at all, but a ridiculous instance of *frenzy*, which had possessed both him and them. But if those he spoke to in diverse tongues understood what he said, and were converted to Christ by that means, how could it be a delusion? Of all the miracles recorded in scripture, none are more clear from any possible imputation of being the effect of an enthusiastick imagination than this. For how could any man think that he had it, who had it not; or if he did think so, not be undeceived, when he came to put his gift to the proof? Accordingly I do not find such a power to have been ever pretended to by any enthusiast, ancient or modern.

If then St. Paul and the church of Corinth were not deceived in ascribing to themselves this miraculous power, but really had it, there is the strongest reason to think, that neither were they deceived in the other powers to which they pretended, as the same spirit which gave them that, equally could, and probably would, give them the others, to serve the same holy ends for which that was given. And by consequence St. Paul was no enthusiast in what he wrote upon that head to the Corinthians, nor in other similar instances, where he ascribes to himself, or to the churches he founded, any supernatural graces and gifts. Indeed they who would impute to imagination effects such as those St. Paul imputes to the power of God attending his mission, must ascribe to imagination the same omnipotence which he ascribes to God.

Having thus, I flatter myself, satisfactorily shewn that St. Paul could not be an enthusiast, who, by the force of an over-heated imagination, imposed on himself; I am next to enquire whether he was deceived by the fraud of others, and whether all that he said of himself can be imputed to the power of that deceit? But I need say little to shew the absurdity of this supposition. It was morally impossible for

for the disciples of Christ, to conceive such a thought as that of turning his persecutor into his apostle, and to do this by a fraud in the very instant of his greatest fury against them and their Lord. But could they have been so extravagant as to conceive such a thought, it was physically impossible for them to execute it in a manner we find his conversion to have been effected. Could they produce a light in the air which at mid-day was brighter than that of the sun? could they make Saul hear words from out of that light which were not heard by the rest of the company? * could they make him blind for three days after that vision, and then make scales fall from off his eyes, and restore him to his sight by a word? Beyond dispute, no fraud could do these things; but much less still could the fraud of others produce those miracles subsequent to his conversion, in which he was not passive, but active, which he did himself, and appeals to in his epistles as proofs of his divine mission. I shall then take it for granted that he was not deceived by the fraud of others, and that what he said of himself cannot be imputed to the power of that deceit, no more than to wilful imposture, or to enthusiasm; and then it follows, that what he related to have been the cause of his conversion, and to have happened in consequence of it, did all really happen, and *therefore the Christian religion is a divine revelation.*

That that conclusion is fairly and undeniably drawn from the premises, I think must be owned, unless some probable cause can be assigned, to account for those facts so authentically related in the Acts of the Apostles, and attested in his Epistles by St. Paul himself, other than any of those which I have considered; and this I am confident cannot be done. It must be therefore accounted for by the power of God. That God should work miracles for the establishment

* Acts xxii. 9.

blishment of a most holy religion, which from the insuperable difficulties that stood in the way of it, could not have established itself without such an assistance, is no way repugnant to human reason: but that without any miracle such things should have happened as no adequate natural causes can be assigned for, is what human reason cannot believe.

To impute them to magick, or the power of dæmons (which was the resource of the Heathens and Jews against the notoriety of the miracles performed by Christ and his disciples), is by no means agreeable to the notions of those who in this age disbelieve Christianity. It will therefore be needless to shew the weakness of that supposition: but that supposition itself is no inconsiderable argument of the truth of the facts. Next to the apostles and evangelists, the strongest witnesses of the undeniable force of that truth are Celsus and Julian, and other ancient opponents of the Christian religion, who were obliged to solve what they could not contradict, by such an irrational and absurd imagination.

The dispute was not then between faith and reason, but between religion and superstition. Superstition ascribed to cabalistical names, or magical secrets, such operations as carried along with them evident marks of the divine power: religion ascribed them to God, and reason declared itself on that side of the question. Upon what grounds then can we now overturn that decision? upon what grounds can we reject the unquestionable testimony given by St Paul, that he was called by God to be a disciple and apostle of Christ? It has been shewn that we cannot impute it either to enthusiasm or fraud; how shall we then resist the conviction of such a proof? does the doctrine he preached contain any precepts against the law of morality, that natural law written by God in the hearts of mankind? If it did, I confess that none of the arguments I have made use of could prove such a doctrine to come from *him*. But this

is so far from being the case, that even those who reject Christianity as a divine revelation, acknowledge the morals delivered by Christ and by his apostles to be worthy of God. Is it then on account of the mysteries in the gospel that the facts are denied, though supported by evidence, which in all other cases would be allowed to contain the clearest conviction, and cannot in this be rejected without reducing the mind to a state of absolute scepticism, and overturning those rules by which we judge of all evidence, and of the truth or credibility of all other facts? But this is plainly to give up the use of our understanding where we are able to use it most properly, in order to apply it to things of which it is not a competent judge. The motives and reasons upon which divine wisdom may think proper to act, as well as the manner in which it acts, must often lie out of the reach of our understanding; but the motives and reasons of human actions, and the manner in which they are performed, are all in the sphere of human knowledge, and upon them we may judge, with a well-grounded confidence, when they are fairly proposed to our consideration.

It is incomparably more probable that a revelation from God concerning the ways of his providence, should contain in it matters above the capacity of our minds to comprehend, than that St. Paul, or indeed any of the other apostles, should have acted, as we know that they did, upon any other foundations than certain knowledge of Christ's being risen from the dead; or should have succeeded in the work they undertook, without the aid of miraculous powers. To the former of these prepositions I may give my assent without any direct opposition of reason to faith; but in admitting the latter I must believe against all those probabilities that are the rational grounds of assent.

Nor do they who reject the Christian religion because of the difficulties which occur in its mysteries,

consider how far that objection will go against other systems both of religion and of philosophy, which they themselves profess to admit. There are in *deism* itself, the most simple of all religious opinions, several difficulties, for which human reason can but ill account, which may therefore be not improperly styled *articles of faith*. Such is the origin of evil under the government of an all-good and all-powerful God; a question so hard, that the inability of solving it in a satisfactory manner to their apprehensions, has driven some of the greatest philosophers into the monstrous and senseless opinions of *Manicheism* and atheism. Such is the reconciling the prescience of God with the free-will of man, which, after much thought on the subject, Mr. Locke fairly confesses* he could not do, though he acknowledged both; and what Mr. Locke could not do, in reasoning upon subjects of a metaphysical nature, I am apt to think, few men, if any, can hope to perform.

Such is also the creation of the world at any supposed time, or the *eternal production* of it from God; it being almost equally hard, according to meer philosophical notions, either to admit that the goodness of God could remain unexerted through all eternity before the time of such a creation, let it be set back ever so far, or to conceive an *eternal production*, which words, so applied, are inconsistent and contradictory terms; the solution commonly given by a comparison to the emanation of light from the sun not being adequate to it, or just; for light is a *quality* inherent in fire, and naturally emaning from it; whereas *matter* is not a *quality* inherent or emaning from the divine essence, but of a different substance and nature, and, if not *independent* and *self-existing*, must have been *created* by a meer act of the divine will; and if *created*, then not *eternal*, the idea of *creation* implying a time *when the substance created did not exist*.

But

* See his Letter to Mr. Molyneux, p. 509, vol. III.

But if, to get rid of this difficulty, we have recourse, as many of the ancient philosophers had, to the *independent existence of matter*, then we must admit *two self-existing principles*, which is quite inconsistent with genuine theism, or natural reason. Nay, could *that* be admitted, it would not yet clear up the doubt, unless we suppose not only the eternal existence of matter, independent of God, but that it was from eternity in the *order and beauty* we see it in now, without any *agency* of the Divine power; otherwise the same difficulty will always occur, why it was not before put into that *order and state of perfection*; or how the goodness of God could so long remain in a state of inaction, *unexerted and unemployed*. For were the time of such an *exertion* of it put back ever so far, if, instead of five or six thousand years, we were to suppose millions of millions of ages to have passed since the world * was reduced out of a *chaos* to an *harmonious and regular form*, still a whole *eternity* must have preceded that date, during which the Divine attributes did not exert themselves in *that beneficent work*, so suitable to them that the conjectures of human reason can find no cause for its being delayed.

But because of these difficulties, or any other that may occur in the system of deism, no wise man will deny the *being* of God, or his *infinite wisdom, goodness, and power*, which are proved by such evidence as carries the clearest and strongest conviction, and cannot be refused without involving the mind in *far greater difficulties*, even in downright *absurdities and impossibilities*. The only part therefore that can be taken is, to account in the best manner that our weak reason is able to do, for such seeming objections; and

A a 2

where

* By the world I do not mean this earth alone, but the whole material *universe*, with all its inhabitants. Even *created spirits* fall under the same reasoning; for they must also have had a *beginning*, and before that *beginning* an eternity must have preceded.

where *that* fails, to acknowledge its weakness, and acquiesce under the certainty, that our very imperfect knowledge or judgment cannot be the measure of the Divine wisdom, or the universal standard of truth. So likewise it is with respect to the *Christian religion*. Some *difficulties* occur in that revelation, which human reason can hardly clear; but as the truth of it stands upon evidence so strong and convincing, that it cannot be denied without much *greater difficulties* than those that attend the belief of it, as I have before endeavoured to prove, we ought not to reject it upon such objections, however mortifying they may be to our pride. *That* indeed would have all things made plain to us; but God has thought proper to proportion our knowledge to our *wants*, not our *pride*. All that concerns our *duty* is clear; and as to other points either of natural or revealed religion, if he has left some obscurities in them, is that any reasonable cause of complaint? Not to rejoice in the benefit of what he has graciously allowed us to know, from a presumptuous disgust at our incapacity of knowing more, is as absurd as it would be to refuse to *walk*, because we cannot *fly*.

From the arrogant ignorance of metaphysical reasonings, aiming at matters above our knowledge, arose all the speculative impiety, and many of the worst superstitions, of the old heathen world, before the gospel was preached to bring men back again to the primitive faith; and from the same source have since flowed some of the greatest corruptions of the evangelical truth, and the most inveterate prejudices against it: an effect just as natural as for our eyes to grow weak, and even blind, by being strained to look at objects too distant, or not made for them to see.

Are then our intellectual faculties of no use in religion? Yes undoubtedly of the most necessary use, when rightly employed. The proper employment of them is, to distinguish its genuine doctrines from
others

others erroneously or corruptly ascribed to it; to consider the importance and purport of them, with the connexion they bear to one another; but first of all to examine with the strictest attention the evidence by which religion is proved, *internal* as well as *external*. If the *external* evidence be convincingly strong, and there is no *internal* proof of its falshood, but much to support and confirm its truth, then surely no difficulties ought to prevent our giving a full assent and belief to it. It is our duty indeed to endeavour to find the best solutions we can to them; but where no satisfactory ones are to be found, it is no less our duty to acquiesce with humility, and believe that to be right which we know is above us, and belonging to a wisdom superior to ours.

Nor let it be said, that this will be an argument for the admitting all doctrines, however absurd, that may have been grafted upon the Christian faith. Those which can plainly be proved *not to belong to it*, fall not under the reasoning I have laid down (and certainly none do belong to it which contradict either our *clear, intuitive knowledge*, or the *evident principles and dictates of reason*). I speak only of difficulties which attend the belief of the Gospel in some of its pure and essential doctrines, plainly and evidently delivered there, which, being made known to us by a *revelation* supported by *proofs* that our reason *ought to admit*, and not being such things as it can *certainly know to be false*, must be received by it as *objects of faith*, though they are such as it could not have discovered by any natural means, and such as are difficult to be conceived, or satisfactorily explained, by its limited powers. If *the glorious light of the Gospel* be sometimes overcast with clouds of doubt, so is the light of our *reason* too. But shall we deprive ourselves of the advantage of *either*, because those clouds cannot perhaps be entirely removed while we remain in this mortal life? shall we obstinately and frowardly shut our eyes against *that day-spring from on high*
that

*that has visited us, because we are not as yet able to bear the full blaze of his beams? Indeed not even in heaven itself, not in the highest state of perfection to which a finite being can ever attain, will all the counsels of Providence, all the height and the depth of the infinite wisdom of God, be ever disclosed or understood. Faith even then will be necessary; and there will be mysteries which cannot be penetrated by the most exalted archangel, and truths which cannot be known by him otherwise than from revelation, or believed upon any other ground of assent than a submissive confidence in the Divine wisdom. What, then, shall man presume that his weak and narrow understanding is sufficient to guide him into all truth, without any need of revelation or faith? Shall he complain that the ways of God are not like his ways, and pass his finding out? True Philosophy, as well as true Christianity, would teach us a wiser and modester part. It would teach us to be content, within those bounds which God has assigned to us, * casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.*

* 2 Cor. x, 5.

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